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## The development of British military professionalism through early-modern European warfare (c.1572-1637) viewed through soldiers' published literature

### Thesis

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Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:  
<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000d5a8>

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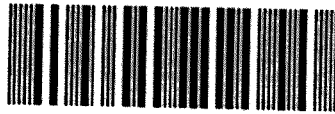
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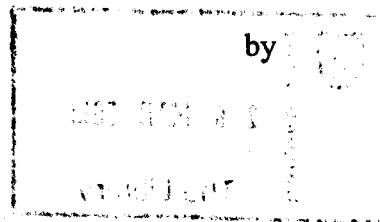
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**The development of British military professionalism through early-modern European  
warfare (c.1572-1637) viewed through soldiers' published literature**

being a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History  
in the Open University



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31 December 2012

DATE OF SUBMISSION : 30 SEPTEMBER 2012

DATE OF AWARD : 18 FEBRUARY 2013

### Abstract

This thesis analyses the late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century literature of warfare through the printed works of English, Welsh and Scots soldiers. The introduction analyses the relationship between modern historiography and the early-modern published works. The first chapter through analysis of over forty works explores the dramatic increase in printed material on many aspects of warfare, the diversity of authors, the adaptation of existing writing traditions and the growing public interest in military affairs. There follows an extensive discussion in the second chapter on the categorisation of soldiers, which argues that soldiers' works are under-used evidence of the developing professionalism among military leaders at various levels and which challenges the traditional view that all combatants from the British Isles fighting voluntarily in Europe were mercenaries. The thesis has consequently been able to clarify the terminology associated with soldier categorisation, an issue about which historians have, to date, been imprecise. The third chapter explores the motivation of soldiers, and through the analysis of autobiographical material the thought process behind an individual's engagement with an army is investigated, the results of which provide compelling information that sheds light on the relevance of significant personal factors such as religious belief and the concept of loyalty. The fourth chapter assesses the narratives of soldiers and the finer details of their experience, an enquiry that greatly assists in understanding the formidable difficulties that were faced by individuals charged with both administering an army and confronting an enemy. Throughout, the study considers the limited use historians have made of these primary sources, attempts to place the material into sub-genres within the military bibliography listed in the appendices, and concludes that the information contained within these works should form a larger element within current historiography. The thesis thus attempts to reassess early-modern warfare by focussing on the published works of soldiers. The conclusion highlights the various types of soldier and how each type viewed his commitment to war, while it also considers the impact of published early-modern material on domestic military capability, the 'art of war', and the position of soldier-authors within the historical debate.

## Transcription

Most contemporary quotes are from original printed material; texts therefore are reasonably standardized when compared with manuscripts. I have generally not shown authors' italics in quotes, as this seldom aids comprehension and can lead to confusion; on rare occasions I have italicized for emphasis, but where this is done it is declared in the footnote. I have consistently replaced 'v' with 'u,' 'f' with 's,' 'i' with 'j' and 'vv' with 'w' where this is appropriate, and where a consonant (usually 'n' or 'm') is not shown but represented by an accent on the preceding vowel I have replaced the accent with the consonant (e.g. 'thē' becomes 'then'). Likewise, the use of 'ß' is replaced with 'ss,' and 'ye,' printed vertically, I have reproduced as 'the'. I have amended punctuation where to leave it unchanged would serve to confuse; where this is done it is explained in the accompanying footnote. Names of places and people have been anglicised where there is common early modern usage that remains today, for example Flushing for Vlissingen, otherwise today's native spelling has been used for clarity. If I am unsure of the town an early-modern commentator is referring to, I have retained his spelling in my text, but if it can be recognized I have given it a modern spelling when not in inverted commas denoting the original speaker.

## Acknowledgments

I owe a significant debt of gratitude to Professor Rosemary O'Day and Dr. Paul Lawrence for agreeing to provide support in the form of advice and guidance and without whom this project would not have reached fruition. I am also grateful to Linda Morrow at the library of the National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa, whose enthusiasm and professional competence was consistently unfailing. Above all I deeply appreciate the forbearance of Nicola, Charlie and Harry: my time is now your time.



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## Introduction

This thesis concerns the experience of early-modern English, Welsh and Scots soldiers and the contribution the written works of these soldiers can make to historians' understanding of the wars of the period. It identifies a distinct period of protracted warfare in Europe, which was recorded by the participants and published for public consumption in the British Isles. Books were printed on many aspects of warfare, from news reports and narratives to instructions and orders, and by many types of authors, from life-long soldiers to part-time theorists. This material collectively presents a rich and varied historical source largely overlooked by historians due to concerns over veracity. Traditionally historians have focussed on the top-down study of warfare mainly through state documents and diplomatic correspondence, concerned with strategy and policy, whereas this thesis is concerned with the analysis of soldiering from the perspective of the participants.

Assessing continuity and change in the early-modern period specifically through the use of soldiers' works is an unusual approach. These primary sources have until now made only a small contribution to historical research even though they contain a great deal of information. Such works were a new phenomenon when they appeared. Contemporary late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century demand for the printed material of soldier-authors indicates a growing general and keen interest in military affairs, although identifying readership is problematic. There is a close relationship between the advent of continuous protracted warfare and the burgeoning appetite for military literature, fed by the substantial increase in output from the printing presses. This correlation strongly suggests that closer analysis of the material is warranted. It will be argued that both the narrative and debates of the period are suitably captured in these works and that they add a plethora of detail often ignored in favour of more 'official' sources.

Historiographically, the perspectives of the nineteenth century were challenged in the latter part of the twentieth. Over the last few years historians have debated various aspects of both the situation in the British Isles and the wider European context. This chapter traces those debates, engages with them critically and exposes gaps in some of the arguments.

## The historiographical background

A great deal has been written on a period that includes the Spanish Armada, the transition from Tudor to Stuart monarchies, the French Wars of Religion, the Eighty and Thirty Years' Wars and the Personal Rule of Charles I. This chapter will explain the trajectory of traditions of historical writing about warfare engaged in by British soldiers. It will reveal gaps in the scholarly literature indicating the need for a fuller review of primary sources using an alternative approach.

Warfare was endemic throughout the entire period. It was hardly a novel phenomenon, but the extended duration characteristic of early modern conflicts had a profound effect on the development of soldiers and the 'military art' that set it apart from previous eras. England, Wales and Scotland, collectively referred to as 'Britain' throughout this thesis,<sup>1</sup> provided many men to fight abroad in what could be seen as somebody else's war thus their consistent labelling by contemporaries and historians as 'mercenaries'. England and Wales were politically homogeneous, and the Welsh soldiers encountered in this study certainly considered themselves subjects of the English monarch. The Welsh appear to have been very much part of the English political and religious nation, despite the retention of their own language and the rank and file remaining, to a large extent, monoglot. While their officers were educated in England or at English speaking schools and migrated to England and the English army, there is evidence that Welsh companies existed as stand-alone units in Europe,<sup>2</sup> a display of a sense of 'nation' but possibly also due to their inability to communicate outside their own lines except through an officer. Scotland was an independent state, and continued to be so despite sharing their monarch with England from 1603. They also shared with English and Welsh comrades the experience of warfare, fighting, for the most part, on the side of the Protestantism that all three nations embraced. The Irish were a case apart, in the main fighting for the Catholic cause,<sup>3</sup> and as such they remain outside the scope of this already broad thesis. However Ireland as a theatre of war is relevant. The nature of warfare there

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<sup>1</sup> Used more as a geographic term of convenience than a political statement. While this may be contentious, it is worth noting that one academic feels comfortable in referring to 'the United Kingdom' of 1612: Anna E.C. Simoni, 'A Present for a Prince', in J.A. van Dorsten, ed., *Ten Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1974), p.51. Charles Carlton noted 'there is no clear word to define the relationship between the various parts of the United Kingdom', *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the English Civil Wars, 1638-1651* (London: BCA, 1992), p.2, n4. Steven Ellis discussed the issue of 'Westminster-centred' British history: "'Not mere English": The British Perspective, 1400-1650', *History Today*, 38:12 (1988: Dec), pp.41-48.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Monro, *Monro, his expedition with the worthy Scots regiment* (London, 1637), I, p.82.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Gráinne Henry, *The Irish Military Community in Spanish Flanders, 1586-1621* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1992).

was significantly different from that of continental Europe.<sup>4</sup> However, along with other European theatres, it formed part of the British soldier's collective experience.

### **The period defined chronologically**

The period under study begins with the first unofficial deployments of English and Welsh volunteers to the Low Countries in the early 1570s. It extends through the deployments to the Low Countries and France in the 1580s and 1590s, to the involvement of men, including Scots, in the Low Countries and Germany during the first decades of the seventeenth century prior to the English Civil War. The experience of Ireland and the Elizabethan and Stuart amphibious expeditions are relevant to the analysis for the sake of completeness, although these aspects of warfare are in some ways peripheral to the main activity in the Netherlands, France and Germany. The period has been frequently divided by historians into late Elizabethan, early Stuart and pre-Civil War sub-periods and treated as individual epochs. Nevertheless it can be seen as a continuum of military activity and development. Set between a lull in Elizabethan European military engagement in the 1560s and the withdrawal of voluntary combatants from European warfare in order to conduct the Civil Wars in the 1640s, it is an identifiable period through which for the first time in several decades a domestic 'art of war' was engendered.

### **Early Tudor precursor: English warfare in Scotland and France**

Works about the period 1509-1558 have advanced historians' knowledge of the nature of English warfare down to Elizabeth's reign. They reveal that it was characterised by the quasi-feudal method of recruitment under aristocratic leadership, the use of mercenaries in substantial numbers to augment this recruitment, and enormous financial cost for little visible gain. The reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I witnessed sporadic warfare against the perennial English enemies, Scotland and France. As a result

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<sup>4</sup> 'Gaelic weapons and tactics were outmoded. They lacked the equipment to conduct a successful siege... Their horsemen rode without stirrups and were therefore unable to couch a lance', but 'Gaelic chiefs were very adept at exploiting the local terrain: large armies found no-one to fight, or faced a series of ambushes, and small armies were beaten'; Steven G. Ellis, 'The Tudors and the origins of the modern Irish states: a standing army', in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery, eds., *A Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.118. For the unique nature of warfare in Ireland see also J. Michael Hill, 'Gaelic Warfare 1453-1815', in Jeremy Black, *European Warfare 1453-1815* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), and James Michael Hill, *Celtic Warfare 1595-1763* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1986), p.18.

Elizabeth I inherited military and economic weakness.<sup>5</sup> Campaigns included the 1544 capture of Boulogne and subsequent loss in 1550,<sup>6</sup> invasions of Scotland in 1542 and 1547 with subsequent, final withdrawal in 1551 and, perhaps most significant of all, the loss of Calais in 1558. The total cost of this came to an estimated 3.4 million pounds, a staggering sum for the period, and was accompanied by popular discontent in England.<sup>7</sup> Henry VIII was responsible for creating the conditions of war with both France and Scotland that Somerset and Mary inherited, and he committed the largest slice of public money to his expeditions when compared with the latter two. He has been considered a monarch who had 'a hunger for martial glory' and who 'aspired to be a second and greater Henry V'.<sup>8</sup> If this was so his war aims were significantly different from Elizabeth's, whose singular focus, regardless of her varying ideas on strategy, was to repel would-be invaders. This view of Henry has recently been challenged by Luke MacMahon, who argued that the taking of Boulogne would expand the territory of the Calais Pale and thus was strategically sound thinking and not purely conceived out of the King's quest for chivalric honour.<sup>9</sup> Tactically the English had been successful in Scotland at Solway Moss, Leith, and later at Pinkie, and in France at Boulogne, but strategically could not sustain enduring operations on an extended line of communication, a situation not dissimilar to the experience of the Hundred Years War.<sup>10</sup> The period under study in this thesis is one of continuous warfare, albeit sustained with fluctuating scope and under changing political conditions, whereas the warfare experienced by British soldiers in the earlier decades of the sixteenth century was sporadic where the only career combat soldiers were the foreign mercenaries. MacMahon views these mercenaries, and the much smaller English permanent units that formed the King's bodyguard and coastal and border garrisons, as the only 'professionals' involved in these conflicts.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Paul E.J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.5.

<sup>6</sup> A military endeavour similar to the capture and subsequent sale of Tournai earlier in Henry's reign. *ibid.*, p.17; C.G. Cruickshank, *The English Occupation of Tournai* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

<sup>7</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, p.43.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p.10.

<sup>9</sup> Luke MacMahon, 'Chivalry, Military Professionalism and the Early Tudor Army in Renaissance Europe: A Reassessment', in D.J.B. Trim, ed., *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p.208.

<sup>10</sup> Traditional views include: H. Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility* (Oxford, 1986); G.J. Millar, *Tudor Mercenaries and Auxiliaries, 1485-1547* (Charlottesville, Va, 1980). For a revisionist perspective: James Raymond, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution: The Armies of Sixteenth-century Britain and Europe* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> MacMahon, 'Chivalry, Military Professionalism and the Early Tudor Army', p.184.

The developing professionalism during Elizabeth's reign (from the 1570s) is therefore directly connected to the growing permanence of soldiers in the field, and in this regard the English would be experiencing the same professional development as other European nations.<sup>12</sup> After the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt, soldiers although not part of formal standing armies could nevertheless be employed for prolonged periods in a way that would not have been possible prior to the concurrent warfare in the Netherlands and France, and subsequently, in the seventeenth century, the Netherlands and Germany. Their view of chivalry, though, may have been closer to Henry VIII than Elizabeth I, as will be demonstrated in this thesis.

### Elizabethan warfare

Traditionally historians emphasised the many difficulties of waging war in this period and portrayed a generally negative view of both the organising efforts of central government and the performance in the field of the soldiers that government employed. Writing before the First World War, Fortescue referred his readers to the satire of Shakespeare, believing 'fraudulent' Falstaff, 'swaggering' Pistol, 'rascally' Bardolph, and the 'damnable rogue' Parolles to be accurate reflections of the poor state of English arms.<sup>13</sup> Similarly Henry Webb believed, through Shakespeare, that 'many Elizabethan captains showed a propensity for exquisite uniforms while their soldiers went almost bare'.<sup>14</sup> In 1946 C.G. Cruickshank presented a detailed analysis of how the Elizabethan army was recruited and deployed, including sections on rations, equipment, uniforms and the medical service.<sup>15</sup> He considered the inheritance of the Tudor military organisation by Elizabeth to have been a medieval feudal army with no legal recourse to the press and no mandate to send the locally-recruited men abroad,<sup>16</sup> but during her reign, and due to the considerable military challenges posed by the King of Spain, much effort was invested in producing a cost-effective modern deployable force.<sup>17</sup> However, factors such as the abuse of office by local officials and the fraudulent behaviour of company captains, muster officials and merchants (all of whom contributed to 'the universal corruption of the age'<sup>18</sup>), coupled with the inclination to enlist 'rogues and vagabonds' with their tendency to

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p.210.

<sup>13</sup> J.W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, Vol 1 (London: Macmillan, 1910), p.140.

<sup>14</sup> Henry J. Webb, 'Falstaff's Clothes', *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 59, No. 3, March 1944, p.162.

<sup>15</sup> C.G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp.48; 60; 71; 118.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, pp.5-7.

<sup>17</sup> For instance, in modernizing weaponry from bow to firearms, *ibid*, p.60.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.81.

desert,<sup>19</sup> adversely affected the efficiency of the resultant forces. Notwithstanding this negative perspective, while he sympathised with the conclusions of earlier historians such as Firth, Fortescue (who did point out that war had become 'a profession',<sup>20</sup>) and Oman with their emphasis on the overall inefficiency of the army, and agreed with Neale regarding incompetence and corruption as the main evils affecting it,<sup>21</sup> Cruickshank did point out the considerable efforts made by the Crown and Privy Council and some of the successes they had of curbing corruption.<sup>22</sup> It is noteworthy that Cruickshank drew most of his information from various state papers with comparatively few references to contemporary soldiers.

Later twentieth-century historians continued to view the period as poorly administered and identified the causes of what they saw as English incompetence in the field. In 1970 Charles Wilson painted a bleak picture in the Low Countries of 'miserable' soldiers deployed from the British Isles, 'often half-naked, invariably unpaid, ill-led and discontented' who 'knew and cared nothing about the causes or objects of the war in which they were entangled'.<sup>23</sup> Of the protagonists themselves 'few fought with any ideological relish or religious fervour',<sup>24</sup> and failure on the field of battle resulted from 'the casual insouciance of sixteenth-century warfare'.<sup>25</sup> The blame for much of this incompetence fell directly to the 'dictatorial and self-contradictory' Queen Elizabeth,<sup>26</sup> responsible through her prevarications for Spanish victories up to and including the fall of Antwerp. There are some glimpses of future themes, for instance the Veres are regarded as symbols of the 'steady professionalism' of English commanders,<sup>27</sup> but this is a throwaway line and the subject of 'professionalism' is not discussed in any detail. The age is believed to be one of 'casual' warfare.<sup>28</sup>

Wilson looked to Belgian and English archives for his research on English involvement in the Dutch Revolt as well as several historians' accounts in Dutch, French and English. There are only three references to soldiers' printed work, two from Sir Roger

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p.8-10.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p.135.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p.131.

<sup>22</sup> For examples, *ibid*, pp.63; 76; 135.

<sup>23</sup> Charles Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (London & Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1970), p.3.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p.50.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p.68.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p.92.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p.113.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p.116.

Williams' *The Actions of the Low Countries* (London, 1618) and one from Vere's *Commentaries* (London, 1657), and a discussion on the developing expertise of English soldiers is confined to a footnote.<sup>29</sup> In the same vein Howell Lloyd carried out a study of the Rouen campaign 'based largely upon primary sources', mainly Burghley's papers. He concludes from these that the early modern state was not capable, through structure, ethos and conflicting interests, of executing a cohesive strategy and operational plan.<sup>30</sup>

The information on the militia indicates that many administrative difficulties were experienced at home as well as abroad. Lindsay Boynton's review of the home defence county forces showed that the militia drew experienced soldiers from, and sent inexperienced soldiers to, the Netherlands and underlined the accepted necessity for the conduct of training.<sup>31</sup> From 1573 training was a requirement based on the progression to firearms and the growing military 'professionalism', which acknowledged the concept of 'skilled manoeuvre' over 'massive impact'. Expensive, difficult to organise and of limited effect, Boynton portrayed the militia as a section of the English military that, like its deployed expeditionary counterpart, was a drain on scarce financial resources and a source of considerable resentment.<sup>32</sup> Problems included difficulties with logistics, the resistance to professional soldiers from socially high-ranking individuals and the categorisation of those soldiers by contemporaries as 'mercenaries'.<sup>33</sup> The lack of standardisation in weapons and their increasing complexity was another issued shared with expeditionary forces.<sup>34</sup> Boynton noted the 'enormous spate of military books' that influenced the theory of war in England,<sup>35</sup> but he nevertheless used information gathered mainly from state papers.

C.H. Firth was unequivocal: he considered the military developments of the English Civil War to be 'the evolution of an efficient army out of chaos'. Although writing about the parliamentary army of the 1640s and 1650s, Cruickshank considered his

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, pp.112/3, n12, 16, 17. Only Vere's *Commentaries* are mentioned in 'A Note on Sources', p.157.

<sup>30</sup> Howell A. Lloyd, *The Rouen Campaign 1590-1592: Politics, Warfare and the Early-Modern State* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p.191. Lloyd did draw some material from Sir Roger Williams, *A Briefe Discourse of Warre* (London, 1590).

<sup>31</sup> Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), pp.153; 162; 166.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, pp.140-2.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, p.181.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, p.239; 257.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, pp.13; 90-1.



strong comments on the Elizabethan war effort worthy of quotation: 'The military system which the Tudors bequeathed to the Stuarts was completely inefficient'.<sup>36</sup>

Wallace T. MacCaffrey changed the perspective by looking at the Queen's long-term policy as successful despite short-term military defeat, and this signalled a revised approach to Elizabethan warfare. In the early 1990s he presented the paradox of naval and military stalemate and frustration leading to the eventual success of Elizabeth's war policy. The Queen as reluctant war leader had always maintained limited aims. She did not seek to destroy her Spanish enemy but just keep him from her territory whilst neutralising any potential future threat from erstwhile allies such as France, the old enemy whom she never fully trusted. Military stalemate would ensure no threatening power stepped into a power vacuum caused by the military collapse of any major participant, and that had been achieved by the time she died.<sup>37</sup>

Recently historians have followed MacCaffrey's lead and tended to emphasise the success of raising and deploying armies despite the many structural and financial difficulties and formed a school of thought that challenged traditional arguments. In 1994 John Nolan produced an article which argued that the centralised administration allied with entrepreneurial enterprise represented a fundamental alteration of the state, brought about solely through the response to war, and overturned previous historical judgements on the efficacy of the Elizabethan state to produce and deploy an army:

Altogether, Elizabeth's 'army' more than adequately filled its role as an instrument of the government's foreign and domestic policies. Could even these limited demands have been effectively met by a corrupt, archaic army supported by a totally moribund military system? The answer to that question, I believe, must be 'no'...<sup>38</sup>

Further to this, in 2003 Paul Hammer suggested that the development of Elizabeth's forces had achieved considerable progress. From the 'utter mismatch' against Spain in the 1560s by the end of the reign Sir Walter Raleigh could lament not having

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<sup>36</sup> C.H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army* (Uckfield: Naval & Military Press, from a facsimile c.1911), p.1; Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* p.131.

<sup>37</sup> Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics 1588-1603* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1992), p.11.

<sup>38</sup> John S. Nolan, 'The Militarization of the Elizabethan State', *The Journal of Military History*, 58, 1994, pp.391-420, quote p.393.

'beaten that great empire to pieces'.<sup>39</sup> Hammer stressed positives over negatives: the English army did experience mutinies, such as at Ostend in 1588, but nothing close to the endemic mutinies in the Spanish Army of Flanders, and this would indicate that the captains, much maligned by Cruickshank, rather than consistently fleecing their men were far more inclined to look after them.<sup>40</sup> Senior commanders were plunged into considerable personal debt in their efforts to support their soldiers, and their competence as military leaders and positive contribution to Dutch successes in the field is presented in marked contrast to the Cruickshank and Firth perspective.<sup>41</sup> Rather than focus on the recruitment of poor quality individuals, Hammer noted the employment of a 'high number of veterans and gentlemen volunteers' and considered the stout performances at the tactical level in sharp contrast to the stalemate at the strategic.<sup>42</sup> Elizabethan England, he maintained, developed to 'match international "best practice"', and he challenged the 'excessively negative assessment' made by previous historians.<sup>43</sup> In two articles in 1997 Hammer focused on the Cadiz expedition to expose aspects of Elizabethan war-related political issues. Cadiz showed 'all that was good and all that was very far from perfect in Elizabethan military practice',<sup>44</sup> and he posited that rather than a rush for glory it may well have been a carefully planned operation based on sound intelligence, and this idea was based on the uncovering of a previously-ignored document.<sup>45</sup> That Cadiz 'produced a body of documentation...unequalled...for any other Elizabethan venture' is interesting in itself.<sup>46</sup> However, for the purposes of this thesis, the interest lies in the discussions on the 'personal point-scoring over honour' and how that concept sat closely to booty, discussed in Chapter Three below.<sup>47</sup> Also relevant is the importance of print to revealing to a contemporary audience how the operation was conducted and the political manoeuvrings in its aftermath.<sup>48</sup>

Hammer's research had taken him to the same government source documents as previous historians, but he also considered the many recent secondary accounts that have been produced, as shown in his 'Select Bibliography of Modern Sources'; he did not draw

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<sup>39</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, p.1.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p.170-4.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, pp.128-9; 171; 178.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p.195.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, pp.259-60.

<sup>44</sup> Paul E.J. Hammer, 'New Light on the Cadiz Expedition of 1596', *Historical Research*, 70, 1997, p.182.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, p.189.

<sup>46</sup> Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Myth-making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz in 1596', *Historical Journal*, 40, 1997, p622.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, pp.623; 639.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, pp.626, n26; 628; 631-3; 636; 640.

from soldiers' accounts.<sup>49</sup> While the approach of MacCaffrey and Hammer reached an alternative conclusion, that Elizabeth was often successful in achieving her military objectives and that those objectives have been misunderstood, they nevertheless remain traditional top-down perspectives.

### The Thirty Years' War

As the conflicts in France and the Netherlands waned, events in the Empire opened up new employment opportunities for soldiers. By the twentieth century, historians were beginning to question the accuracy of the traditional belief that the Thirty Years' War had decimated the population throughout, specifically, Germany and retarded its growth and development for two centuries. General accounts of the Thirty Years' War attempt to cover a vast array of political and military events over an extended geographical area, incorporating a plethora of archival records in many languages, and many thousands have been printed since the seventeenth century. Writing before the Second World War, C.V. Wedgwood advised caution regarding the 'popular myth' that resulted in misleading 'exaggerated views' on the long-term effects of the war and attempted a re-balancing, and also concluded that despite the presence of so many foreigners 'Germany's tragedy was ultimately her own'.<sup>50</sup> But she came under fire from J.V. Polišínský in 1971, who considered that she presented the war 'as a portrait gallery of rulers, statesmen, diplomats and generals, who...controlled the destinies of Europe'.<sup>51</sup> Whereas Wedgwood focussed mainly on Germany, the Czech Polišínský researched the effects of the war in Bohemia and Moravia, areas he believed to have been neglected by historians and to have suffered a wider, deeper and longer legacy of destruction than Germany.<sup>52</sup>

Historians have chiefly focussed upon the impact of this war. The debate over the level of destruction polarised between those who took the view that more often than not personal interest regarding compensation lead to exaggerated claims,<sup>53</sup> against the

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<sup>49</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, pp.290-300. For a recent perspective on global warfare during the Tudor period see Jeremy Black, *War in the World: A Comparative History, 1450-1600* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>50</sup> C.V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years' War* (London: Pimlico, 1938), pp.7; 522.

<sup>51</sup> J.V. Polišínský, *The Thirty Years War*, trans. Robert Evans (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), p.10.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, pp. 244-53.

<sup>53</sup> Robert Ergang, *The Myth of the All-Destructive Fury of the Thirty Years War* (Pocono Pines, PA: 1956); S.H. Steinberg, *The Thirty Years War and the Conflict for European Hegemony 1600-1660* (New York: 1966); Gerhard Benecke, 'The Problem of Death and Destruction in the Thirty Years War: New Evidence from the Middle Weser Front,' *European Studies Review* 2 (1972): 250.

traditional view that the war generated wholesale misery on an unprecedented scale.<sup>54</sup> Herbert Langer, in his oft-quoted illustrated account from 1980 in which he considered the war to be part of 'a far-flung mesh of economic and political relations in Europe and overseas', believed that the picture of devastation created by contemporary accounts 'is not an accurate one'.<sup>55</sup> John Theibault concluded that rather than looking to extort local authorities, the rhetoric of death and destruction in the war was produced as a result of the sufferings of the populace. That rhetoric may have reflected reality and was not necessarily fabricated, but it changed as the depredations worsened.<sup>56</sup> Quentin Outram analysed the mortality and demographic losses resulting from the war, querying the methodology of others, and considered factors such as fertility, emigration, mortality through battle (although the fatalities 'were too few to account for much') and disease (notably plague). He looked at the way that the war itself could have contributed to an increased mortality over that to be expected through 'normal' cycles of disease and hunger through harvest failure, and discerned three 'models': 'synergy', 'hunger' and 'transmission' that assisted in marking a correlation between the war and mortality.<sup>57</sup> A 2007 article by David Zhang *et al* suggested a correlation between meteorological conditions and increased mortality during the Thirty Years' War, which showed the drop in temperature experienced in Europe to coincide with the timing of the war.<sup>58</sup> The multitude of European debates up to the end of the Thirty Years' War and beyond was covered in Volume IV of the *New Cambridge Modern History* from 1970. This publication considered the economic, political, scientific, religious and military issues, as well as developments in the field of drama, across Europe before dealing with Spain, Germany, Sweden, France and the Low Countries individually.<sup>59</sup>

This thesis contends that all of these topics, including the weather, are covered in detail in the writings by soldiers from the British Isles who participated in the conflict and

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<sup>54</sup> Günther Franz, *Der Dreissigjährige Krieg und das Deutsche Volk*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Stuttgart: 1979); Gustav Freytag, *Bilder aus der Deutschen Vergangenheit*, Vol. 3 *Aus dem Zeitalter des großen Krieges* (Leipzig: 1888).

<sup>55</sup> Herbert Langer, *The Thirty Years' War* (Poole: Blandford Press, 1980), p.10.

<sup>56</sup> John Theibault, 'The rhetoric of death and destruction in the Thirty Years War', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 27, No.2 (1993), pp. 271-290.

<sup>57</sup> Quentin Outram, 'The Socio-Economic Relations of Warfare and the Military Mortality Crises of the Thirty Years' War', *Medical History*, 2001, Vol.45, pp.151-184.

<sup>58</sup> David D. Zhang, Peter Brecke, Harry F. Lee, Yuan-Qing He, and Jane Zhang, 'Global climate change, war, and population decline in recent human history', in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, December 4, 2007, Vol.104, No. 49, pp.19214-19219.

<sup>59</sup> J.P. Cooper, ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History, Volume IV: The Decline of Spain and the Thirty Years War 1609-1648/59* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

recorded their experience, and that much of that record was available in print during the conflict, which has not been edited or amended since.

In 1997 Geoffrey Parker produced a collection of essays that by design covered wider subject matter than Germany and the years 1618-1648. The Mantuan war, Swedish campaigns in Poland, the Donauwörth incident of 1607 and the demobilisation agreements of 1650 were believed to impact on the main issues discussed within the subject of the Thirty Years' War. Through the inclusion of these events, outside the time-frame of the book's title and geographically further afield than the battlegrounds of the Empire, the difficulty of allocating accurate time and space labels to a complex military matrix is manifest. Parker included an extensive and very useful bibliographical essay. Also noteworthy is the essay by Christopher Friedrichs, 'The war and German society', which relates to the discussion on the level of destruction, referred to above.<sup>60</sup> Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling aimed to 'consolidate the present state [1999] of research on the epoch of the Thirty Years' War'. They were 'concerned with the historical interconnections between state, church and society'. The war was shown from various national perspectives (in addition to the Empire, essays are included on Denmark, Switzerland, Venice, France, Sweden, Poland-Lithuania, Catalonia and Portugal). The role of religion was also considered, and the impact of war on the daily lives of both soldiers and civilians. This work does not, however, draw directly from the experience of soldiers through analysis of their recorded material.<sup>61</sup>

A concise, focussed and acclaimed argument on what and who constituted the main issues of and protagonists in the war was published by Ronald Asch, who saw the war as Empire-centric and not part of a greater European crisis.<sup>62</sup> The most recent revisionist account by Peter Wilson concurred with Asch (despite the misleading title of his book) and emphasised three key distinctions from many previous accounts: the war was related to other concurrent conflicts yet remained separate and as such it was the war of the Empire; the war was not primarily religious; the war was not inevitable.<sup>63</sup> The book was recently acclaimed by Daniel Riches, who believed it 'promises to transform the way the war is

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<sup>60</sup> Geoffrey Parker, ed., *The Thirty Years' War* (London: Routledge, Second Edition 1997).

<sup>61</sup> Klaus Bussman and Heinz Schilling, eds., *1648: War and Peace in Europe*, 3 vols (Münster/Osnabrück, 1999).

<sup>62</sup> Ronald G. Asche, *The Thirty Years War: The Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618-48* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1997).

<sup>63</sup> Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009).

taught' as it 'slowly, carefully and patiently' unpacked 'the various layers of its causes, course and effects'.<sup>64</sup> Wilson followed this publication with a collection of primary source documents, overwhelmingly civilian in nature with only a handful of soldiers' accounts. He also included an up-to-date (2010) guide to recent publications on the Thirty Years' War that corrects the omission of a bibliography in *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy*.<sup>65</sup>

### **The early-modern military continuum**

This thesis identifies a discernible period that links military activity, and several histories consider the continuity of warfare rather than focus on specific conflicts. A number of historians cover both the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods, although often reaching back to the early sixteenth or late fifteenth centuries or carrying forward into the British Civil Wars or the conflict between France and Spain. This is a reflection of the difficulty in accurately assessing and dating the factors that impacted on the development of warfare and the advances in weaponry and tactics. In 1961 Sir John Hale, one of the first 'revisionist' historians of the period, produced an anthology of contemporary printed works, the earliest of which dates from 1513 and the latest 1639, in which he wrote of a 'revolution' in military affairs.<sup>66</sup> The selection is a very small representation of printed works when compared to Appendices 1 to 4 of this thesis. In a later essay he described the period from 1559 to 1610 in negatives: 'it was not a period of achievement, it was not in any real sense a period of transition', and notes that armies contained 'malcontents from all classes' who fought from inefficiently conceived plans that were the result of an absence of strategy.<sup>67</sup> A collection of essays in the 1980s addressed the period stretching from 1450 to 1631 and covered a range of topics including Italian fortifications, officer training (with its implication towards professionalization of the armies in which trained officers served) and contemporary reactions to war.<sup>68</sup> Two years later he defined the period from 1450 to 1620, during which he described a 'military reformation' in Europe with the

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<sup>64</sup> Daniel Riches, 'A New Paradigm for Studying the Thirty Years War', *German History*, Vol. 29, No 1, 2011, pp.102-7.

<sup>65</sup> Peter H. Wilson, ed., *The Thirty Years War: A Sourcebook* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). Another recent sourcebook, with fewer documents and lacking the discussion of Wilson's, is Trynje Helfferich, ed., *The Thirty Years War: A Documentary History* (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett, 2009).

<sup>66</sup> J.R. Hale, *The Art of War and Renaissance England* (Washington, DC: Folger Library Press, 1961).

<sup>67</sup> J.R. Hale, 'Armies, Navies and the Art of War', in R.B. Wernham, ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History: Vol. III. The Counter-Reformation and Price Revolution 1559-1610* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 171-208.

<sup>68</sup> J.R. Hale, *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon, 1983).

secularisation of the 'ideology' of chivalry, the effects of the widespread use of firearms and the emergence of permanent, synonymous with professional, forces.<sup>69</sup>

In recent years the revisionist trend continued, but with a more positive reading of many aspects of the early modern military system. Focussing on the English, in 2001 Mark Fissel produced a work that extends from Henry VIII through to the start of the English Civil War, and included analysis of military action in France, Scotland and Ireland. Fissel maintained that 'the English mastered logistics well, fielded large numbers of men in spite of a hybrid recruitment system, had good tactical sense, handled their artillery expertly, and enjoyed a superior sense of morale' and that 'in general, from 1511 to 1642, they achieved success on their own terms'. Fissel interpreted the military events of the period to reflect a developing English art of war, born out of a will to survive within their self-conscious geographic isolation and an ability to adapt and master the various modes of warfare: siege craft, the cavalry charge, amphibious assault, guerrilla warfare and set-piece battles.<sup>70</sup> Focussing on the siege, a major characteristic of early modern warfare and its adjunct, artillery, in 1979 Christopher Duffy surveyed Europe. This included Italy (1530-1600), France (1513-1660), the Netherlands through the Eighty Years' War, England and Ireland during the British Civil Wars, the Baltic and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>71</sup>

In an essay of 2011 David Lawrence laid out the changes to historiography in an effort to consolidate the latest literature on the period. He discussed the historians who in the 1980s and 1990s challenged the idea of a 'decaying and moribund military tradition' with the view that the English art of war was in-step with the European pace-setters and that English officers were motivated by 'confessional zeal, honour and economic hardship'.<sup>72</sup> An older, but invaluable work describing the mechanics of soldiering in Germany from the economic perspective is that of Fritz Redlich, which viewed military leaders as 'both functionaries and businessmen' as a reflection of the major task of organising and administering an army, or part thereof.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> J.R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe 1450 – 1620* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1998), pp. 37; 46; 127.

<sup>70</sup> Mark Charles Fissel, *English Warfare 1511-1642* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 47; 282.

<sup>71</sup> Christopher Duffy, *Siege Warfare* (London & New York: Routledge, 1979).

<sup>72</sup> David R. Lawrence, 'Reappraising the Elizabethan and Early Stuart Soldier: Recent Historiography on Early Modern English Military Culture', *History Compass*, 9/1, 2011, pp.16-33.

<sup>73</sup> Fritz Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser and his Work Force: A Study in European Economic and Social History*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1964-5).

Viewing warfare from the other side, as it were, Geoffrey Parker first presented an in-depth study of the Spanish Army of Flanders (1567-1659) in 1972 with a Second Edition appearing some thirty years later.<sup>74</sup> This was a work on 'historical mechanics', which analysed the technical, economic and fiscal aspects of the Spanish war effort in the Low Countries.<sup>75</sup> He observed the general increase in the size of European armies and the transformation in their role and nature to predominantly infantry forces engaged in siege warfare (noting the reduction in the size and effect of the cavalry), itself the result of the introduction of a new style of defence works, the *trace italienne*.<sup>76</sup> Parker discussed how the army was assembled from various locations in the Spanish empire, the logistics of deploying along extended lines of communication, how the army was maintained in the field (specifically targeting the problems of supply and pay, or lack of it, and how this led to mutiny), and the many problems encountered both strategically and at the tactical level. Although many soldiers from the British Isles served in the Spanish Army of Flanders, the focus of this book is not on them.<sup>77</sup> However, it is seminal in its treatment of the organisation and administration of early-modern land forces. It is noteworthy that, despite eventual (albeit partial) defeat, the Spanish 'prodigious efforts' and 'awesome determination' resulted in 'impressive organisational achievements [which] surpassed the capabilities of most other European states', and the conclusion that Geoffrey Parker drew is that the eventual failure was 'essentially political'.<sup>78</sup> In 1995, with the early modern period re-classified 'baroque', Parker produced an essay giving a synopsis of the European soldier, which placed him within a collective alongside eleven other elements that formed contemporary society.<sup>79</sup>

In 2006 Roger Manning produced an account of the chronological development of British arms ranging from 1585 through to 1702, which he terms the formative years of the 'British Army'. The work covers the conflicts in Ireland and the Netherlands, the expeditions both Elizabethan and Stuart, and the Civil Wars in Britain, before extending

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<sup>74</sup> Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Second Edition, 2004).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-9.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24; 231.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 224-6.

<sup>79</sup> Geoffrey Parker, 'The Soldier', in Rosario Villari, ed., *Baroque Personae* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995).



into the periods of Restoration and Glorious Revolution.<sup>80</sup> This is one of several works of Manning that provide material for discussion in this thesis.

‘Modern’ warfare, according to Jeremy Black, began in Italy during the period of war between 1494 and 1529, during which time the use of gunpowder weapons ‘contributed to a remarkable period of tactical experimentation’ that saw the effective combination of infantry, cavalry and artillery. That this was a development from the Burgundian methods of the 1470s would indicate that confident accurate dating of the start of the period is problematic. Indeed, he states that the period he has identified was neither ‘radically different’ to the previous era nor ‘crucial to the development of modern warfare’.<sup>81</sup> Although he claims to move away from the ‘war and society’ aspect of military history and concentrate on the ‘operational character and military dynamic’ of warfare, he nevertheless considers cultural, social and political factors. In a broad approach to early modern warfare, he also considers naval developments, the military revolution debate and European expansion.<sup>82</sup>

### The ‘military revolution’ debate

A debate relevant to a thesis concentrating on the experience of soldiering is that initiated by Michael Roberts. His argument centred mainly on tactical reforms (based on smaller infantry units in linear formations and changes in the use of cavalry) introduced by Prince Maurice of Orange in the Netherlands and Sweden’s Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, and he christened these developments the ‘military revolution’.<sup>83</sup> This idea was taken up and expanded, in period and theme, by Geoffrey Parker. Parker’s initial scepticism, shown in an article of 1976, made way for a full-blown theory in the late 1980s, which was widely supportive of Roberts’ original theory but added as an alternative explanation to changes the *trace italienne* system of fortifications and the resultant siege

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<sup>80</sup> Roger B. Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army 1585-1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). For a more recent account of a wider period, see Charles Carlton, *This Seat of Mars: War and the British Isles 1485-1746* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011).

<sup>81</sup> Sir Charles Oman had previously identified 1494 as the start of an epoch, a sixteenth century wherein ‘everything is changed’: *A History of The Art Of War In The Sixteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1937), pp.5/6.

<sup>82</sup> Jeremy Black, *European Warfare, 1494-1660* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. xi; 70.

<sup>83</sup> Two published works expounded the theory: Michael Roberts, *The Military Revolution, 1560-1660* (Belfast: Queen’s University Press, 1956); Michael Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus: A History of Sweden 1611-32*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green, 1958).

warfare this effective defensive architecture produced.<sup>84</sup> He also viewed this military revolution as the drive behind European global expansion and thus accorded it a primary position in world history.<sup>85</sup> The debate continued and was to some extent consolidated in 1995 by Clifford Rogers, who gathered together a number of key historians and published their opinions, which challenged aspects of the Parker theory, in one volume.<sup>86</sup>

Despite the fact that in 2001 John Childs pronounced the debate on the 'military revolution' dead as an historical theory as he considered it 'stale and tired',<sup>87</sup> it still continued.<sup>88</sup> David Eltis sought to bring the 'revolutionary' aspects of military change forward to the sixteenth century, claiming his theory to be 'quite independent' of Roberts and Parker.<sup>89</sup> According to Eltis, military training and organisation 'underwent profound changes' driven solely by improvements in firearms, and this was an advent of the sixteenth not the seventeenth century and thus occurred prior to Maurice and Gustavus.<sup>90</sup> Generalisations regarding either century can attract criticism: for instance, when comparing differences between the earlier and later Tudor periods a degree of caution is advisable. It is notable that the largest Elizabethan armies, those deployed in Ireland under Essex and Mountjoy, were only half the size of the army commanded by Henry VIII in France in 1544, even though the growth of armies has been seen as a characteristic of the 'military revolution' of later years.<sup>91</sup> In the same vein, although many of the English troops in the earlier period were armed with bills and longbows, the arquebus had been

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<sup>84</sup> On siege fortifications, in addition to Parker and Duffy (above), see: J.R. Hale, *Renaissance Fortification: Art or Engineering?* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), and James D. Tracy, ed., *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte In Global Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). For an example of siege stalemate, see James B. Wood, *The king's army: Warfare, soldiers, and society during the Wars of Religion in France, 1562-1576* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.29-37.

<sup>85</sup> Geoffrey Parker, 'The "Military Revolution" 1560-1660 – a myth?', *Journal of Modern History*, XXVI (1976); Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

<sup>86</sup> Clifford J. Rogers, ed., *The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe* (Boulder: Westview, 1995).

<sup>87</sup> Derek Croxton, 'A Territorial Imperative? The Military Revolution, Strategy and Peacemaking in the Thirty Years War', *War in History*, 1998, 5(3). John Childs, *Warfare in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Cassell, 2001), p.23.

<sup>88</sup> Frank Tallett and D.J.B. Trim, eds. *European Warfare, 1350-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). MacGregor Knox and Williamson Murray, *The dynamics of military revolution 1300-2050* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Jeremy Black, 'Was there a Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe?', *History Today*, Jul. 2008, Vol. 58 Issue 7, pp.34-41. Black has recently stated that 'the nature and extent of military change in the period 1550-1660 has been exaggerated', and has placed early-modern warfare within a wider cultural setting: Jeremy Black, *Beyond the Military Revolution: War in the Seventeenth-Century World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p.190.

<sup>89</sup> David Eltis, *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1995), p.6. See also Thomas F. Arnold's 'very real sixteenth-century military revolution'; 'War in Sixteenth-Century Europe', in Black, *European Warfare*, p. 35.

<sup>90</sup> Eltis, *Military Revolution*, p.43.

<sup>91</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, p.6.

introduced by this stage and the move towards firearms was under way.<sup>92</sup> The impact of gunpowder, technical changes in weaponry and the relationship between warfare and the evolution of the state are all aspects of the historiography of this period, whether it is termed revolutionary or not, and has been the subject of much discussion.<sup>93</sup>

The debates on the 'military revolution' tend to reverberate, as the authors un-pick the narrative produced by a previous generation of historians.<sup>94</sup> They have considered whether or not events were consistent with the theory, for instance how the destruction of the 'new model' Swedish army by the conservative Spanish tercios at Nördlingen fits into the discussion on the advantages of changing tactics.<sup>95</sup> There are isolated references to early-modern military publications, for instance Roberts' reference to Davies' *The Art of War*, Parrott's use of de Gheyn's *Exercise of Arms* and Turner's *Pallas Armata*, and Parker's use of Digges' *Stratoticos*, Barwick's *Breefe discourse* and Cruso's *Militarie instructions for the cavallrie*.<sup>96</sup> This sporadic usage is sufficient to indicate the debate exists within early-modern literature. This thesis, unusually, will view the debate from the material presented by the actual participants.

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid, p.29.

<sup>93</sup> Bert S. Hall, *Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe: Gunpowder, Technology and Tactics* (Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1997). Brenda Buchanan, ed., *Gunpowder: The History of an International Technology* (Bath: Bath University Press, 1996). Harald Kleinschmidt, 'Using the Gun: Manual Drill and the Proliferation of Portable Firearms', *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (Jul., 1999), pp.601-629. Kelly DeVries, 'Gunpowder Weaponry and the Rise of the Early Modern State', *War in History*, 1998, 5 (2), pp.127-145. Kelly DeVries, 'Catapults Are Not Atomic Bombs: Towards a Redefinition of "Effectiveness" in Premodern Military Technology', *War in History*, 1997, 4 (4), pp.454-470. A.R. Hall, *Ballistics in the Seventeenth Century: A Study in the Relations of Science and War with Reference Principally to England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952). Thomas Esper, 'The Replacement of the Longbow by Firearms in the English Army', *Technology and Culture*, 6:3 (1965: Summer), pp.382-393. William R. Thompson and Karen Rasler, 'War, the Military Revolution(s) Controversy, and Army Expansion: A Test of Two Explanations of Historical Influences on European State Making', *Comparative Political Studies*, 1999, 32: 3, pp.3-31.

<sup>94</sup> To take the example of one of the first to engage in the debate: Geoffrey Parker, 'The "Military Revolution" - A Myth?', in Rogers, *Military Revolution Debate*, pp.37-54, who discussed the work of G.N. Clark, C. Oman, C. Nordmann (French), L. Andre (French), W. Hahlweg (German), M.A. Ladero Quesada (Spanish), J.W. Wijn (Dutch) and others. It must, however, be stated that Parker did make use of Sir Roger Williams and Thomas Churchyard in this essay.

<sup>95</sup> David A. Parrott, 'Strategy and Tactics in the Thirty Years' War: The Military Revolution', in Rogers, *Military Revolution Debate*, p.227.

<sup>96</sup> Michael Roberts, 'The Military Revolution, 1560-1660', in Rogers, *Military Revolution Debate*, p.15, n10: a marginal discussion on whether armies marched in step. Parrott, 'Strategy and Tactics' in Rogers, *Military Revolution Debate*, p.229, n13: discussion on the distinction between arquebus, musket and caliver; ibid, p.232, n35, 37: on the use of the pike. Geoffrey Parker, 'In Defence of the Military Revolution', in Rogers, *Military Revolution Debate*, p.339, n6, where he states 'I have perused several tracts from the 1590s' and uses Digges and Barwick for a discussion on ballistics and, p.348, n48, quotes Cruso's comments regarding siege warfare.

## Scotland and early-modern European warfare

Scotland provided many soldiers for continental armies during the period under review. Historians such as Elizabeth Bonner and Hugh Dunthorne underline the independent status of Scotland in relation to England, with Bonner stressing the combined French and Scottish efforts 'against their common enemy: England'.<sup>97</sup> However, she represents the case prior to 1560 and before the significant lull in English warfare noted above. Hugh Dunthorne chose to emphasise the divide between the two nations, stating that the States of Holland insisted 'English and Scots contingents were kept quite separate and usually as far away from each other as possible', and that William Cecil saw Scots involvement in the Netherlands as a danger to England.<sup>98</sup> Despite the desire of these historians to emphasise the undoubted differences, there was, in fact, much common ground between Scotland and England. Cultural, linguistic, religious and political similarities existed that enabled relationships to develop from the 1570s between soldiers from England and Scotland fighting in the same theatre of war on the same side, and this fledgling 'Britishness' is a significant aspect of the military experience that matured concurrently on both sides of the border and one that is reflected by contemporary writers, the main sources for this thesis, such as Robert Monro and Sir Roger Williams.

There are a number of general works on Scotland and the Scottish European diaspora during this period, containing information that helps explain the proportionately high numbers of Scots found in European armies.<sup>99</sup> There are also a number of works that focus on Scottish military activity. J.D. Mackie, in 1915, used the work of Sir Walter Scott as a starting point to investigate the 'Scottish soldier of fortune',<sup>100</sup> and as such used the autobiographical accounts of Robert Monro and Sir James Turner as his primary sources,

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<sup>97</sup> Elizabeth A. Bonner, 'Continuing the "Auld Alliance" in the Sixteenth Century: Scots in France and French in Scotland', in Grant G. Simpson, ed., *The Scottish Soldier Abroad 1247-1967* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992).

<sup>98</sup> Hugh Dunthorne, 'Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries, 1572-1648', in Grant G. Simpson, ed., *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124-1994* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), pp.111/4.

<sup>99</sup> For instance, J.D. Mackie, *A History of Scotland* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964); Tom Steel, *Scotland's Story* (London: Fontana/Collins, 1984); Stanislaw Seliga and Leon Koczy, *Scotland and Poland: A Chapter of Forgotten History* (Scotland (location and publisher unspecified), 1969); Michael Lynch, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

<sup>100</sup> J.D. Mackie, 'Dugald Dalgetty: and Scottish Soldiers of Fortune', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. XII, No. 47, April 1915, p.224; Sir Walter Scott, *A Legend of Montrose* (London: Constable, 1819).

augmented by secondary works by Grant, Fortescue, Fischer, and Mackay.<sup>101</sup> In this article Mackie discusses the changes in battlefield tactics following the introduction of the arquebus and the innovations of Gustavus Adolphus, of whom he observes 'his reforms are to a large extent only modifications of existing systems'.<sup>102</sup> Mackie states unequivocally of Monro 'it is true he was a mercenary',<sup>103</sup> and concludes that Scots soldiers 'were greedy and pedantic, but they were also brave and efficient and in their own way honourable too'.<sup>104</sup> This article, despite its age, is still relevant in its quest for the quintessential characteristics of the 'mercenary' from the British Isles fighting abroad. I will consider carefully his descriptions but look to re-balance 'greedy' with 'demand for subsistence', to replace 'pedantic' with 'pedagogic', to underline the bravery and efficiency of these soldiers and to stress their honour as more universal than merely 'in their own way'. Mackie also produced an article, in 1914, this time drawing largely on state papers, outlining the position of Scotland regarding the Spanish naval threat to England.<sup>105</sup> Although perhaps over-stating his case (he saw Scotland as 'the hinge upon which these world-politics turned'<sup>106</sup>), he nevertheless shows the shift of alliances that moved Scotland closer to England, and no doubt Scots soldiers closer to their English counterparts.<sup>107</sup>

In an article produced in the mid-1980s Ross Bartlett looked at the Scottish soldier abroad exactly mirroring the period of this thesis.<sup>108</sup> He showed that from 1572 the Scots were as concerned as the English that the fight of 'true Christians' against the 'devellishe and terrible Counsall of Trent' may have encroached onto home soil.<sup>109</sup> He also attempts to define 'mercenary', but does not mark the difference between those Scots mercenaries of the fifteenth century and those in the later period, a subject that I will discuss in

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<sup>101</sup> Monro, *Expedition*; Sir James Turner, *Pallas armata* (London, 1683); James Grant, *Memoirs And Adventures Of Sir John Hepburn: Knight, Governor Of Munich, Marshall Of France Under Louis XIII, And Commander Of The Scots Brigade Under Gustavus Adolphus, Etc* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1851); Fortescue, *History of the British Army*; T.A. Fischer, *Scots in Germany* (Edinburgh: Schulze, 1902) and *Scots in Sweden* (Edinburgh: Schulze, 1907) (Fischer also produced *Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia* (Edinburgh: Schulze, 1903)); John Mackay, *An Old Scots Brigade; History of Mackay's Regiment, 1626-1634* (Tonbridge: Pallas Armata, 1991 Edn).

<sup>102</sup> Mackie, 'Scottish Soldiers of Fortune', p.227.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid*, p.235.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, p.237.

<sup>105</sup> J.D. Mackie, 'Scotland and the Spanish Armada', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. XII, No. 45, October 1914, pp.1-23.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*, p.1.

<sup>107</sup> For relations between Scotland and England at this juncture see also Ruth Grant, 'The making of the Anglo-Scottish alliance of 1586,' in Julian Goodacre and Alasdair A. MacDonald, eds., *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

<sup>108</sup> I. Ross Bartlett, 'Scottish Mercenaries In Europe, 1570-1640: A Study In Attitudes And Policies', *Scottish Tradition*, Vol. XIII, 1984-85, pp.15-24.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, p.17.

depth.<sup>110</sup> His research on the recruitment methods, government control (or lack thereof) and the numbers raised is informative; tension caused between England and Scotland due to Scots soldiers passing through to English ports is noteworthy.<sup>111</sup> Alf Åberg's article of 1990 about Scots soldiers in Swedish armies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries notes combined units of 'English and Scottish foot-soldiers'.<sup>112</sup> Åberg writes of Scotland providing 'possibly as many as 30,000 officers' to Gustavus Adolphus, but this cannot be correct and he must surely mean volunteer soldiers,<sup>113</sup> showing that terminology continues to be problematic when dealing with this period. The issue is thoroughly discussed in Chapter Two.<sup>114</sup>

Historians such as Steve Murdoch have focussed in the last decade on Scots involvement in European wars. In 2001 he brought together a number of essays by various historians on aspects of the Thirty Years' War from a Scots perspective, including Josef Polišenský on Scots involvement in the Bohemian War, Matthew Glozier on the Scots in French and Dutch armies, and William Brockington on Robert Monro.<sup>115</sup> Murdoch's publication of 2003 examined the relationship between Britain and Denmark, and follows the line that 'foreign relations were not, in fact, conducted in England's interests, but in the interests of the house of Stuart' with a heavy Scots influence.<sup>116</sup> This is interesting in light of Scots soldiers' commitment to the wider Stuart house, as discussed in Chapter Three below through Robert Monro's work. Part One of Murdoch's book looks at Scottish diplomacy, and is of little direct relevancy to this thesis, but Part Two analyses Scots within the Danish military establishment and is therefore of interest. Alexia Grosjean produced, in 2003, a work that looked at the relationship between Scotland and Sweden.<sup>117</sup> Chapters One through Three are relevant, in that they assess the impact and influence of

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid, p.16.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, p.19.

<sup>112</sup> Alf Åberg, 'Scottish Soldiers in the Swedish Armies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Grant G. Simpson, ed., *Scotland and Scandinavia 800-1800* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), p.91.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> There are a number of older works that are still relevant and have been republished due to modern, cheap technology. John Mackay produced a history of Mackay's regiment from its inauguration in 1626 to its destruction in 1634. Mackay stated he was 'greatly indebted' to Robert Monro's *Expedition* and had taken much from his work, thus he is one historian who trusted the contents of a soldier's narrative: Mackay, *An Old Scots Brigade*. James Grant pieced together the 'adventures' of Sir John Hepburn from a variety of sources and published in 1851: *Adventures of Sir John Hepburn*. James Ferguson edited an extensive volume of papers, drawn and translated from the Rijks Archief in The Hague, relating to Scots in the service of the Netherlands: James Ferguson, ed., *Papers illustrating the history of the Scots Brigade in the service of the Netherlands 1572-1782* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1899; BiblioBazaar Edn).

<sup>115</sup> Steve Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

<sup>116</sup> Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603-1660* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003), p.9.

<sup>117</sup> Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569-1654* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

Scots in the Swedish army and their contribution before and during the Thirty Years' War. David Worthington viewed the war from the other side of the fence, looking at Catholic Scots and their loyalties.<sup>118</sup> He has studied Scots involvement with the Habsburgs in Spain, the Spanish Netherlands and the Holy Roman Empire, and includes an Appendix of which Scots served in Habsburg armies during the Thirty Years' War.

In the main these historians have looked to traditional sources. Ross Bartlett drew largely from the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, while Alf Åberg looked to the narrative of previous historians.<sup>119</sup> Dunthorne relied mainly on Ferguson's collection (see note 114 above) although significantly bemoans the lack of a Monro, Williams, or Hexham, commenting that his only source for a Scot in the Low Countries was Lithgow.<sup>120</sup> Overall there has been a recurring, though surprisingly sparse use made of Monro, who represents an invaluable source for both Scottish and British perspectives. James Fallon studied Scots soldiers in the service of Denmark and Sweden, and validates the *Expedition* of Monro as 'unquestionably' the 'major work' of the period. Despite this observation, Fallon looked at other manuscript and printed sources, with particular emphasis on the archives of Denmark and Sweden. He looked at recruiting methods, the historical impact of the Scots deployment in the service of Denmark and Sweden and the experience of serving abroad. Interestingly he regards the 'considerable' number of relevant letters available to be 'extremely disappointing' regarding the value of the information they yielded.<sup>121</sup> I shall place Monro's account amongst those of the Welsh and English and argue they collectively provide a rich source of informative material.

## Biographies

Both historians and literary critics have explored the genre of biographies produced by early-modern authors, although soldiers rarely feature. It has been suggested that while the main purpose of life-writing by such biographers was exemplarity, contemporary rhetoric may have worked to adjust the reality of the subject.<sup>122</sup> Mayer and Woods' essays discussed the theory of biography and the aim and effect of biographers. They highlight the

<sup>118</sup> David Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618-1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

<sup>119</sup> Mainly Fischer's *Scots in Sweden*.

<sup>120</sup> Dunthorne, 'Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries', p.108.

<sup>121</sup> James A. Fallon, 'Scottish Mercenaries in the Service of Denmark and Sweden 1626-1632', PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1972, pp.13, 21

<sup>122</sup> Thomas F. Mayer and D.R. Woods, eds., *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing In Early Modern Europe: Forms of Biography from Cassandre Fidele to Louis XIV* (University of Michigan, 1995), pp.1-26.

fact that historians must use contemporary life writings with considerable caution. In a rare discussion of military biography, Adriana McCrea's essay looked at Greville's account of Sir Philip Sidney and concluded 'the so-called *Life* scarcely qualifies as a "life" at all'.<sup>123</sup> Modern historians also surveyed the period through the tool of biography. One that provided information for this thesis due to its relevance of subject and thorough research is the account of the Vere brothers, Francis and Horace, by Clements Markham written in the late nineteenth century.<sup>124</sup> The work was floridly composed, and presented the two subjects as great heroes of the English-speaking world. Sir Francis, who claims most of Markham's attention, is portrayed as 'the first great English general in modern history', and Sir Horace ably 'further developed' the school his older brother founded.<sup>125</sup> At times Markham engaged in a spat with his American counterpart Motley, who held a lesser opinion of Vere.<sup>126</sup> Tracy Borman's treatment of Francis Vere 'attempts to fill at least part of the void created by historiography'.<sup>127</sup> Her reappraisal shifted the emphasis from his pivotal military role as a general in the Netherlands, which she posited had been over-stated by Markham and Vere himself, and looked to re-balance by enhancing his role in the political sphere.<sup>128</sup> Her argument is somewhat unconvincing. Vere's contribution to the Netherlands war effort, and hence concurrently to the English art of war, remains to be re-assessed.

There are several more recent biographical accounts of soldiers from the period. Mountjoy, the most successful of Elizabethan military commanders, drew the attention of two biographers. Cyril Falls and Frederick Jones both used similar sources: a combination of state papers, correspondence and liberal use of the memoirs of Fynes Morison, Mountjoy's secretary.<sup>129</sup> John Nolan looked at the career of Sir John Norris, and it is noteworthy that although a prominent commander Norris rarely features in this thesis. This is because Nolan gathered much of his information from the Calendars of State

<sup>123</sup> Adriana McCrea, 'Whose Life Is It, Anyway? Subject and Subjection in Fulke Greville's *Life Of Sidney*', in Mayer and Woods, *Rhetorics of Life-Writing*, p. 299.

<sup>124</sup> Clements R. Markham, *The Fighting Veres: Lives of Sir Francis Vere, General of the Queen's Forces in the Low Countries, Governor of the Brill and of Portsmouth, and of Sir Horace Vere, General of the English Forces in the Low Countries, Governor of the Brill, Master-General of the Ordnance, and Baron Vere of Tilbury* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Seale & Rivington, 1888).

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid*, p.iv.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid*, see 'Motley' in Index to gauge the extent of the argument.

<sup>127</sup> Tracy Borman, 'Sir Francis Vere in the Netherlands, 1589-1603: A re-evaluation of his career as Sergeant Major General of Elizabeth I's troops', PhD thesis, University of Hull, 1997.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid*, p.259.

<sup>129</sup> Cyril Falls, *Mountjoy: Elizabethan General* (London: Odhams, 1955), p.9; Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars* (London, 1950); Frederick M. Jones, *Mountjoy 1563-1606: The Last Elizabethan Deputy* (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1958), p.10.



Papers, the Acts of the Privy Council and other state papers, and took Churchyard's translation of van Meteren's *A True Discourse of Succeeding Governors and Civil Wars in the Netherlands* (London, 1602) largely as a contemporary biography of Norris. We know little of the warfare in which Norris was engaged from the man himself.<sup>130</sup> Norris would be excellent subject matter: a convinced Protestant (and possible Calvinist crusader),<sup>131</sup> who gathered significant experience of warfare in Ireland where he developed a fierce reputation,<sup>132</sup> as well as in the Netherlands and Brittany, he also invested in the 'private enterprise' of Elizabethan military campaigns.<sup>133</sup> He was at various stages a 'gentleman volunteer', a 'freelance adventurer', a 'mercenary commander', a 'military entrepreneur' and a 'General of English royal forces',<sup>134</sup> and the categorisation of soldiers is one of the concerns of this thesis. However, while his career is seen by Nolan as 'a true mirror of the evolution of the state he served',<sup>135</sup> Norris himself did not write his experiences down (as far as I am aware) and certainly did not publish them, and so cannot feature as a subject for review in this thesis. Little is known of the 'life' rather than the 'career' of Norris.<sup>136</sup>

Paul Hammer studied the political career of the Earl of Essex, a significant figure in the politics and military events of the 1590s. Historians have traditionally regarded Essex as at best a lightweight, at worst an incompetent; Nolan saw him as a 'glorified juvenile delinquent'.<sup>137</sup> Hammer, through extensive reading of manuscript and printed sources, 'the fullest possible range of surviving evidence',<sup>138</sup> sees Essex as neither, but as a serious and youthful military aristocrat in a Court of senescent civilian councillors of lower social rank, as 'a man of great ability and dogged commitment'.<sup>139</sup> Essex saw himself as a soldier, and Hammer argued that Essex 'constructed his whole life around the conspicuous cultivation of "virtue"', and as such he must feature in the discussion on chivalry which forms a large part of the debate on professionalism, introduced below.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>130</sup> John S. Nolan, *Sir John Norreys and the Elizabethan Military World* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1997), p. 241-3.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>137</sup> Paul E.J. Hammer, *The Polarization of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.4-5; Nolan, *Sir John Norreys*, p.241.

<sup>138</sup> Hammer, *Polarization of Elizabethan Politics*, p.xi.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p.404.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, p.20.

There are a number of English Civil War generals who underwent a military apprenticeship in the European wars that have attracted a biographer's attention.<sup>141</sup> While the English Civil War is beyond the scope of this thesis, the discussion of honour, acute in that war, and the application of military professionalism were developed by men who had served in Europe as soldiers or lived with a backdrop of European war in the British Isles. Fairfax was portrayed by John Wilson as a national hero who required rescuing from under the shadow of Cromwell, while Andrew Hopper presented a more balanced view, and shows, albeit briefly, the connections between Ferdinando and Thomas (both veterans of the Dutch wars) and the Vere family.<sup>142</sup> P.R. Newman produced a biographical dictionary of Royalist officers, from which can be seen the European warfare experience of several,<sup>143</sup> and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* gives information on the most significant Civil War officers and their apprenticeship in Europe, such as George Monck, Sir Jacob Astley, Henry Gage, Philip Skippon and Sydenham Poyntz. For an English language biography of a European soldier, the seminal work on the great generalissimo Wallenstein by Golo Mann is relevant,<sup>144</sup> as is the more recent version by Geoff Mortimer.<sup>145</sup> These biographers have focussed on individuals within their military context, whereas this thesis considers the military experience through multiple life stories and draws conclusions about soldiers and the army in general from those accounts.

### Self-writing: diaries, autobiographies, and spiritual autobiographies

The focus of this thesis is the writings of soldiers and their desire to publish and reach a wider audience. Historiographically, there has been no rush to base studies on this source material. There is a body of work that discusses early modern self-writing in

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<sup>141</sup> Although this was not a formal, recognised trade apprenticeship, for a thorough discussion of which see Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600-1914* (London: UCL Press, 1996).

<sup>142</sup> John Wilson, *Fairfax: A Life of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, Captain-General of all the Parliament's forces in the English Civil War, Creator & Commander of the New Model Army* (London: John Murray, 1985), p.1. Andrew Hopper, 'Black Tom': *Sir Thomas Fairfax and the English Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp.15-7. There are also modern biographies on, for example, Sir William Waller, Lord Goring, and Prince Rupert: J. Adair, *Roundhead General: A Military Biography of Sir William Waller* (London: Macdonald, 1969). Florence S. Memagalos, *George Goring (1608-1657)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). Patrick Morrah, *Prince Rupert of the Rhine* (London: Constable, 1976); George Malcolm Thomson, *Warrior Prince: Life of Prince Rupert of the Rhine* (London: Martin Secker & Warburg, 1976).

<sup>143</sup> P.R. Newman, *Royalist Officers in England and Wales, 1642-1660: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: 1981).

<sup>144</sup> Golo Mann, *Wallenstein, His Life Narrated*, trans. Charles Kessler (London: Andre Deutsch, 1976).

<sup>145</sup> Geoff Mortimer, *Wallenstein: The Enigma of the Thirty Years War* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan: 2010).

general or 'self-fashioning' as Stephen Greenblatt phrased it in 1980.<sup>146</sup> In 2002 Randolph Starn saw these 'new senses of the self' as a product of the Renaissance that 'grew out of a preoccupation with models and types in antiquity, in nature, in the mind, or in a heaven of archetypes'. A combination of 'humanist pedagogy', Protestant principle with its emphasis on the individual, and the developing concept of 'civilised behaviour' all contributed to the growth of self-fashioning.<sup>147</sup> This was not an entirely new view, as Paul Delaney had written in 1969 that an innovation of the Renaissance was 'the rise of a more relativist concept of historiography' that, unlike the people of the Middle Ages, the 'development of a sense of perspective of the past' contributed to humanist thought and through it to self-writing.<sup>148</sup> Michael Mascuch looked at social mobility and middling self-identity, which he believed, through 'a rhetoric of chivalry', a 'remarkably homogeneous' group of writers could be discerned. The 'middle sort' dominated autobiographical discourse, and the occupational category of 'clergy and professionals' formed the largest group, with 'profession' described as 'lawyer, medical doctor, teacher, don, actor or military officer'. Overall the assessment is negative, in that these writers are believed to have displayed a lack of individual ambition and, against a back-drop of spiritual corruption with human destiny understood in providential terms, rather than looking to better themselves in terms of material gain were preoccupied with the fear of familial decline and fall. The conditions required for these authors to produce autobiographies was a combination of writing skill (restricted to some 30 per cent of the male population) and access to time and place, and their motivation, rather than individualistic was out of concern for the welfare of their family, for which they felt an almost over-powering burden of responsibility.<sup>149</sup> Elaine McKay surveyed early modern English diaries and found that, although the highest number were produced by clergymen supporting the view that the growth of diaries was connected to the growth of Protestantism, the largest combined grouping was that of soldiers and sailors.<sup>150</sup> This is explained through the acknowledgment by the individual that he was engaged in 'something momentous', in events that would pass into history and that therefore merited

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<sup>146</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

<sup>147</sup> Randolph Starn, 'The European Renaissance', in Guido Ruggiero, ed., *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp.45-48.

<sup>148</sup> Paul Delaney, *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), p.6.

<sup>149</sup> Michael Mascuch, 'Social mobility and middling self-identity: the ethos of British autobiographers, 1600-1750', *Social History*, 20 (1995), pp. 45-61.

<sup>150</sup> Elaine McKay, 'English diaries: gender, geography and occupation, 1500-1700', *History*, 90:298 (2005), pp.191-212.

recording and, possibly, justifying. This theory though is largely attributed to the civilian-turned-soldier of the English Civil War, and therefore may not fit the early-modern professional soldier and is one of the problems of having such a wide window extending two hundred years. All soldiers' diaries, though, 'may have been conceived as a last testament of the days leading up to his death'.

Occupation/Status	Number of Diaries
[Military (Sailor & Soldier combined)	41]
Minister	40
Government official	39
Sailor	22
MP	22
Scholar	20
Soldier	19
Local government	16
Landlord	13
Tradesman/Merchant	13
Lawyer	11
Yeoman/Farmer	9
Doctor	8
Servant	6
Astrologer	3
Criminal	3
Midwife	1
Theatre owner	1
Total	246

**Table 1: Diaries by Occupation/Status 1500-1700<sup>151</sup>**

<sup>151</sup> Reproduced from *ibid*, p.201.

Religion was central to much of the 'ego literature' of the period, and Tom Webster and others date the 'puritan diary' to the middle of Elizabeth's reign. There followed in the 1580s a 'steady stream of protestant devotional manuals' produced from diaries of the godly giving daily direction 'and evidence of diaries kept from the early years of the seventeenth century is abundant'.<sup>152</sup> Margaret Spufford argued that individuals from the bottom end of the social scale could produce spiritual autobiographies, as even the poorest children had access to some form of education until they were absorbed into the workforce. Reading was the basic skill learned as early as age five, while writing was a skill to which not all who had learned to read progressed. Yeoman's sons could rightfully aspire to attend grammar school until about age fourteen, and some of the wealthier in that social group would attend university, although that highest level of education remained mainly the domain of the gentry. The premature death of a father could see the son slide down the social and educational scale.<sup>153</sup> Ralph Houlbrooke maintains a full electronic bibliography of works that discuss or use diaries and autobiographies.<sup>154</sup>

This thesis looks at the collective experience of soldiers through multiple life stories produced by soldiers involved in combat and military deployments. Through this evidence conclusions are drawn about service in an early-modern army.

### Religion and eschatology

Historians have discussed the motivation for soldiers to leave home and fight abroad and have focussed on religion.<sup>155</sup> In Elizabethan England there was a perceived threat of invasion, not only from the would-be all-conquering 'universal monarchy' of Spain, but also from a general Catholic conspiracy to crush Protestantism. In 1984 Malcolm Thorp wrote that in the early years of the reign in the main Elizabethans, and Cecil in particular, believed that 'the forces of Antichrist were allied together and that Protestantism was in danger'. Hence the conception of the 'crucial buffer zones' of France and the Netherlands with the belief that were these areas to fall the Spanish would

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<sup>152</sup> Tom Webster, 'Writing to redundancy: approaches to spiritual journals and early modern spirituality', *Historical Journal*, 39, 1 (1996), pp.33-56.

<sup>153</sup> Margaret Spufford, 'First steps in literacy: the reading and writing experiences of the humblest seventeenth-century spiritual autobiographers', *Social History*, Vol. 4, No. 3, (Oct., 1979), pp.407-435.

<sup>154</sup> [http://www.firstpersonwritings.eu/greatbritain/greatbritain\\_project.htm](http://www.firstpersonwritings.eu/greatbritain/greatbritain_project.htm)

<sup>155</sup> As a thematic overview: '...apocalyptic visions acquired a special reality and urgency at times of political and religious crisis...[such as the] Armada crises...the Thirty Years War...the Irish Rebellion...'; Paul Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English apocalyptic visions from the reformation to the eve of the civil war* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p.247

'forthwith invade England'. Although there was a degree of 'wishful thinking' and an inability 'to distinguish between fact and fiction', there was nevertheless a strong belief in a threatening conspiracy between the pope, the king of France and the king of Spain which, combined with 'a collective apocalyptic outlook', resulted in the formation of a defensive, patriotic but ultimately optimistic policy to stand firm against aggressors.<sup>156</sup> Williamson, Cunningham, Grell and Trim have all viewed the period and its wars through an apocalyptic or at least a religious lens.

Arthur Williamson argued that European expansion in the early modern period was viewed largely as an apocalyptic phenomenon. The vast empire of Charles V was seen by many as 'the Last World Empire' as prophesised, and this eschatological perspective of Habsburg domination persisted through the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century. Ranged against them were France and Britain (through a union of Scotland and England), possibly together at one stage in a Gallo-Britannia alliance. The Dutch were also engaged in the struggle 'within the framework of the Protestant apocalyptic'. This Fifth Monarchy view is seen through the writings of George Buchanan, Philip Sidney, Francis Bacon and William Alexander, and the theme is that the British drive was to end, but not to replace, Habsburg Catholic expansion.<sup>157</sup>

### Contemporary representation of soldiers and warfare

Historians of literature have made a contribution to our knowledge of early-modern warfare and soldiering. Andrew Gurr believed that from roughly the time of the Armada, and due to that epic event and the conflict in the Netherlands, 'for more than ten years wars and stories of wars were the main meal on the broad platforms of the [London] amphitheatres,' and his comment on the military nature of the plays' subject matter is supported by his research into contemporary journals.<sup>158</sup> Such dramatic coverage would indicate, and in turn would have encouraged, a strong contemporary interest in military

<sup>156</sup> Malcolm R. Thorp, 'Catholic Conspiracy in Early Elizabethan Foreign Policy', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol.15, No.4, 1984, pp.431-448.

<sup>157</sup> Arthur H. Williamson, 'An Empire to End Empire: The Dynamic of Early Modern British Expansion', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, Vol.68, No.1-2, 2005, pp.227-256. Other works contributing to the discussion on eschatology and fighting for religion include Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); David Trim, 'Fighting "Jacob's Wars": The Employment of English and Welsh Mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562-1610', PhD thesis, University of London, 2002.

<sup>158</sup> Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.132.

affairs. That war was a popular theme for the London stage from the mid-1580s is readily acknowledged by Patricia Cahill, who investigated the modernity of warfare in Elizabethan drama and the inherent difficulty within the populace of understanding the trauma of combat. She accepted the period to be one 'when military science emerged as a modern discipline,' and included contemporary military authors such as Clayton, Williams, Barret, Rich, Garrett, Churchyard, Gascoigne, Ive and Barwick, as well as modern historians such as Hale, Eltis, Hammer, Boynton, Cruickshank, Fissel, MacCaffrey, Nolan, Wernham, Roy, Parker, Manning and Trim in her extensive research. In so doing, she brought together literary criticism and historical debate in a work that complements the study of warfare, and how ordinary people understood it, in the Elizabethan period.<sup>159</sup>

### Patronage

No study of early-modern warfare or soldiering should neglect the subject of patronage, 'that network that bound together the whole political community and insured the smooth functioning of the state machinery'.<sup>160</sup> In 1986 Mervyn James, using the example of the Earl of Cumberland, described the changing relationship between lord and tenant during the reign of Henry VIII, as feudal bonds began to erode and with them the accompanying formal military agreement for a vassal or mesne tenant to follow his lord into battle.<sup>161</sup> This erosion had initially been created by the policies of Henry VII, and it was to the crown that many mesne lords began to turn. Simon Adams argued that Henry VIII, as a consequence of his 'blunder' into a bankruptcy-inducing war with Scotland and France, lost this patronage initiative, and the military patronage system was re-forged which relied upon aristocratic patronage for military leadership.<sup>162</sup> He also argued that, during the reign of Elizabeth, Protestantism became a driving factor, fusing with the political dimension that culminated in the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1585, with aristocratic patronage controlled by the Earl of Leicester and, following his death, his stepson the Earl of Essex. It is worth noting that contained in the household accounts of Leicester are records of 'those gentlemen and noblemen whom, together with their retinues, Leicester

<sup>159</sup> P.A. Cahill, *Unto the Breach: Martial Formations, Historical Trauma and the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). She was not the first to compare Shakespeare's plays with the works of early-modern soldier-authors: Paul A. Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1956).

<sup>160</sup> MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*, pp.543, 548.

<sup>161</sup> Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp.152-158.

<sup>162</sup> Simon Adams, 'The English Military Clientele 1542-1618', in Charles Giry-DeLoison and Roger Mettam, eds., *Patronage et Clientélismes 1550-1750* (Lille: Université Charles de Gaulle-Lille III/Institut Français du Royaume-Uni, Collection Histoire et Littérature Régionales, 10, 1995).

summoned to accompany him in September 1585...and were then formed into companies to constitute the 1,000 cavalry of the English contingent as provided for under the treaties of Nonsuch'.<sup>163</sup>

David Trim also considered the issue of patronage in his thesis. He noted the lack of any noble patron of Captain Edward Chester in the Netherlands in the early 1570s,<sup>164</sup> and that Chester was not the only captain dealing directly with the Dutch without using 'patrons acting as middle men'.<sup>165</sup> Patrons nevertheless played a significant role at this time, with not only Leicester but also his brother Warwick, Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Francis Knollys prominent.<sup>166</sup> The Earl of Pembroke was of crucial importance to the recruiting effort of 1572.<sup>167</sup> However, as time passed the 'professional' soldiers in the employ of the Dutch had less reason to bow to the influence of aristocratic patrons, as the relationship between Sir Francis Vere and the Earl of Essex shows.<sup>168</sup> Below the aristocracy, though, many gentlemen held retinues and fielded licensed or unlicensed retainers and affinity county connections remained a critical factor in the recruitment of units and individual officers.<sup>169</sup>

### **The relationship between chivalry and professionalism**

Closely allied to a discussion of the role of patronage is a consideration of the growth of professions and professionalism in the military. If men owed their preferment to patronage, was there room for profession, expertise and promotion by merit? There has been debate over what constituted a 'profession' in the early modern period and whether, or to what extent, soldiers constituted a distinct, trained and therefore professional body. Rosemary O'Day has discussed the three 'learned' professions of priest, lawyer and physician, which were relatively new as distinct groups having developed out of the humanist philosophy driving the Renaissance and the Reformation.<sup>170</sup> While she does not

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<sup>163</sup> Simon Adams, ed., *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558-1561, 1584-1586*, Camden Fifth Series, Volume 6, Royal Historical Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.23.

<sup>164</sup> Trim, 'Fighting "Jacob's Wars"', p.127.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p.129.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p.137.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.261-2.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p.184, although this may have depended on whether or not the aristocrat's star was rising or falling.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.269; 274.

<sup>170</sup> Rosemary O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450-1800: Servants of the Commonwealth* (Harlow: Longman, 2000).



include soldiers in her discussion, she does identify characteristics that could be used in a debate on military professionalism:

If a profession is defined as a body of people who offer a service to clients on the basis of expertise; who ground their expertise and authority in a body of theoretical knowledge as well as practical skill; who claim a monopoly; who follow a code of ethics in performing their services; who have an internal organisation which disciplines its members; and who have a large degree of autonomy in their work, then this definition can usefully be applied to the professions we study, to highlight these features of their development.<sup>171</sup>

It may be that other groups can be discerned using these criteria, such as schoolteachers, which are added to O'Day's list (although she sees them as not fully-fledged).<sup>172</sup>

A number of historians have recently discussed to what extent the soldier identified as a professional. Ian Roy noted the difficulty in categorisation, and stated that many of the qualifying criteria that applied to doctors and lawyers did not apply to soldiers and sailors. However, he maintained that there were other considerations that set military officers apart and identified them as a distinct body. These included the consequences of failure, which could be fatal and which no other profession attracted, as well as the special place a soldier traditionally held in relation to the monarch. This 'warrior class' of aristocracy and landed gentry 'were distinguished above all by their actual or potential leadership in war, at the side of the King'. Although this feudal arrangement had decayed by the reign of Henry VIII, the code of chivalry and its accompanying rules of honour continued to regulate the behaviour of the landed elite. By the later sixteenth century the long period of peace and cautious financial management in government, added to the changing face and growing complexity of warfare, resulted in a diminishing role for the amateur whose claims to command were based on a combination of high birth and tradition. Warfare had advanced from the 'art' of those skilled with horse and sword to the 'science' of emerging phenomena such as massed infantry and siege artillery, and those decreasing numbers of the nobility who entered the military world sporadically in search of honour found they were unqualified for the task. Roy sees the later Elizabethan period and the expeditions of the 1620s as formative years in the progression of the English military, through their European experiences fighting with or against the best soldiers of the age,

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid, p.11.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid, p.20; David Cressy, 'A Drudgery of Schoolmasters: the Teaching Profession in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England' in Wilfrid Prest, ed., *The Professions in Early Modern England* (London, New York & Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987).

into a distinct occupational group, and to an extent this occurred through the development of several attributes, which could include:

...its own status, derived from the competent exercise of its vocation – its function – rather than its association with the landed elite, its own career structure, its own internal regulation – ‘the laws of war’ – and some regard for itself as an honourable calling – what might be called its *esprit de corps*.<sup>173</sup>

Chivalry was the domain of the aristocratic element of English society, and this in itself could be viewed as a threat to the Tudor ‘civilising process’. Deborah Shuger argued that the ‘aristocratic warrior ethos’, wherein violence was endemic, was atavistically barbaric and at odds with the developing agrarian, peaceful and increasingly wealthy civil society which was underpinned by a work ethos and the rule of law. Although she placed the debate in Ireland, citing the works of Edmund Spenser (*A View of the Present State of Ireland* (London, 1596)) and Sir John Davies (*A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued* (London, 1612)), she believed ‘the Irish tracts...do not just concern Ireland but implicitly offer a drastic critique of the whole aristocratic culture of honor’.<sup>174</sup> David Trim believes that early modern armies were driven by the dominant ideology of Christian aristocratic chivalry. A number of historians have further analysed the growth of professionalism across Europe and its relationship with chivalry.<sup>175</sup> David Trim believes earlier work to be important but out-dated;<sup>176</sup> he attempted to define what ‘profession’ meant and suggested criteria that, if met, would indicate an emerging professional over an amateur or mercenary force. Roger Manning also engaged in this debate, but argued a harder line that the chivalric ethos hindered the progression to professionalism, stating ‘the martialist’s concept of honour had nothing to do with Christian morality, and he cared not about military victory or defeat or the achievement of stated military objectives’.<sup>177</sup> He continued this line in two later essays: in 2006 he made the somewhat contradictory statement regarding the Dutch army:

<sup>173</sup> Ian Roy, ‘The Profession of Arms’, in Prest, *Professions in Early Modern England*, pp. 183; 187.

<sup>174</sup> Deborah Shuger, ‘Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol.50, No.2, 1997, pp.494-525.

<sup>175</sup> Trim, *The Chivalric Ethos*, pp.1-30.

<sup>176</sup> R. Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, Second Edition (Woodbridge, Suffolk: 1995); M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London: 1984); M. Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy 1066-1217* (Cambridge: 1996); M. Feld, ‘Military Professionalism and the Mass Army’, *Armed Forces and Society* 1, (1975), no.1, pp.191-214; M. Feld, ‘Middle-Class Society and the Rise of Military Professionalism: The Dutch Army 1589-1609’, *Armed Forces and Society* 1, (1975), no.4, pp.419-42.

<sup>177</sup> Roger B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.79.

At the heart of these Maurician reforms were standards of professional competence that reflected a system of merit under which officers and men were judged by results rather than social status – although the officer corps remained aristocratic and continued to be motivated by a chivalric ethos.<sup>178</sup>

In 2007 he argued that a revival of chivalric martial culture retarded acceptance of the 'military revolution' in British armies. The span of his discussion extends from the late sixteenth century through to the beginning of the eighteenth, but is not presented in a chronological order making it difficult to discern any one period and its unique conditions from another, or to gain any sense of progression or development.<sup>179</sup>

One notable change to the historiography can be discerned. Later historians expressed the view that it was, in fact, largely the gentry, albeit often their younger scions, who deployed on military operations rather than the indigent poor, so the social composition of armies has been revised. The important issue of professionalism is the essence of Chapter Two, with the emphasis on how the serving soldiers viewed their status and compares that view with the modern debates of historians. Chapter Three draws conclusions on the motivating factors that enabled the formation of military units and their engagement with the enemy and how that may have affected professionalism.

### The impact of printing

The introduction and progress of the printing press is well known,<sup>180</sup> although its impact is often assumed rather than analysed.<sup>181</sup> Printed books were initially restricted to certain types of subject matter, often religious in nature, but by the end of the sixteenth century the first printed news reports, precursors to the newspaper, were beginning to circulate. The period of protracted European warfare witnessed a sharp increase in printed

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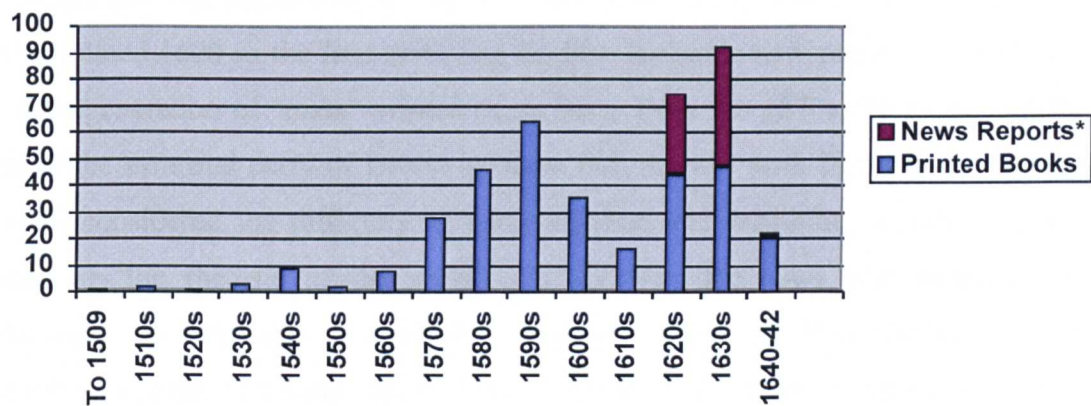
<sup>178</sup> Roger B. Manning, 'Prince Maurice's School of Wars: British Swordsmen and the Dutch', *War & Society*, Vol. 25, No. 1, May 2006, pp.1-19, quote p.2.

<sup>179</sup> Roger B. Manning, 'Styles of Command in Seventeenth Century English Armies', *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 71, No.3, 2007, pp.671-699.

<sup>180</sup> Frederick W. Hamilton, *A Brief History of Printing in England: A Short History of Printing in England from Caxton to the Present Time* (Chicago: United Typothetae of America, 1918, General Books edition), pp. 4-12. Jeremy Black, *The English Press 1621-1861* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 2001). Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), which is an abridged and later version of *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

<sup>181</sup> Eisenstein, *Printing Revolution*, p.3.

material and largely fed the news reports.<sup>182</sup> The table below shows the volume of printed military books of all categories and represents a synopsis of the data taken from Appendices 1 to 4.



\* Appendix 4. Includes Dr. Watts’ pamphlets of the 1630s, Appendix 1 Serial 144.

Table 2: Military Books up to 1642

To put these figures into perspective: as a rough guide to the total number of books published in a year on all subjects, the Stationers’ Company registered some 150 titles each year throughout the period. As some of these were not printed while other titles were printed but not registered, an educated guess has given an average of 200 a year between 1576 and 1640. Copies could run at between 1250 and 1500 per edition. Taking these figures, during the peak decade for military book sales (1590s) a possible 96,000 copies could have been produced and circulated.<sup>183</sup> This would indicate that a considerable proportion of the reading public were interested and to an extent therefore educated in the martial affairs of the period. Those able to read were a growing body as the printing press fed its own demand by producing material that directly impacted on education and therefore literacy rates, creating more potential customers for its products. Printed manuals of instruction for teachers coupled with the Protestant ethic of education as ‘a tool of conversion’ saw widespread investment in learning; one such manual by Edmund

<sup>182</sup> J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). B. Dooley, and S. Baron, eds., *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001).

<sup>183</sup> David Cressy, *Literature and the Social Order: Reading and writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p.47. Rosemary O’Day, *Education and Society 1500-1800: The social foundations of education in early modern Britain* (London and New York: Longman, 1982), p.67.

Coote, *The English Schoolmaster*, went through twenty-six editions between 1596 and 1656, with a final edition as late as 1704.<sup>184</sup>

Much initial public interest in Europe's wars would have been gratified through the availability of printed news, a development not restricted to England as Peter Wilson noted the production and distribution of the first newspapers in the Empire from 1608.<sup>185</sup> David Randall dated 1620 as the first surviving English language newspaper (*coranto*), although the first generation of 'mass' printed news dates from the 1570s, by no coincidence the time of the informal entry of British soldiers into the war with Spain in the Netherlands. Randall considered the difficulty of authentication and credibility in news reports. He looked at 'the rhetoric of the news' and the way the news was written, read and transformed as standards of credibility developed, and observed the existence of the specific sub-genre of military news. He categorised the transmission of news in one of four mediums: oral, ritual ('conveyance...by sign or action'), written and printed, and noted the impact of the evolution of printed military reports in English. By the late Elizabethan and early Stuart period 'the printing of hundreds of copies of a single report year by year replaced the traditional condition of news scarcity with a condition of news plenitude'.<sup>186</sup> Randall also expressed the view that, given the comparatively limited numbers of Englishmen serving in armies, much of the experience of warfare came to England 'filtered through texts', and that the new genre of 'news report' conveyed a great deal of the information. Much of the news was foreign, translated and marketed by 'a thoroughly "amphibious" class of men' out for profit, so generally it lacked a pronounced domestic political edge. Rather than politics, it was 'the era's endemic providentialism' that served both profit-minded publishers and anti-Catholics, both of whom were looking for a large audience, and this formed the root of his argument, although the use of 'fortune' and 'providence' as turns of phrase was also considered.<sup>187</sup> What can be drawn from this when placed in the context of British soldiers fighting abroad, is that material about those soldiers was in huge demand and so it follows that reports written by them (see comments on Sir Roger Williams' *Newes* in Chapter One) and their accounts of their campaigns would also have been potentially in great demand. News reports from the Elizabethan era

<sup>184</sup> O'Day, *Education*, pp.43; 46-7.

<sup>185</sup> P. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War*, pp. 824-7.

<sup>186</sup> David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2008), pp. 1-19; 85; 87.

<sup>187</sup> David Randall, 'Providence, Fortune, and the Experience of Combat: English Printed Battlefield Reports, circa 1570-1637', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXXV/4, 2004, pp.1053-1077.

can be seen in Appendix 1,<sup>188</sup> while Appendix 4 captures many of the *corantos* of the Thirty Years' War.

Barbara Donagan challenged the view that the contemporary emphasis of peace in England against the ravages of war-torn Europe made England a military backwater. She argued that, in fact, the English, through the experience of a 'significant body' of soldiers and the production of a literature of war, were indeed prepared for war when it arrived in 1642. Through the consumption of 'accounts of travel, military narratives, atrocity stories, training manuals, lives and precepts of great soldiers', both printed works and manuscripts, supplemented by 'private' and 'regular newsletters', topical printed sermons and soldiers' printed memoirs, all informed a nation eager to consume such material. The preparation of men for war owed 'as much to the written word' as any practical training,<sup>189</sup> and this thesis analyses the written word of soldiers as part of the contribution to that preparation.

David Eltis claimed that sixteenth-century printed works had a profound impact on the 'military revolution',<sup>190</sup> and this contrasts with the view of James Raymond who believed in the efficacy of manuscript for the spread of military professional development.<sup>191</sup> David Lawrence has considered these two contrasting views, and to him the point remains moot.<sup>192</sup> However printed material was subject to a higher level of scrutiny than manuscript works, and what was sanctioned to roll off the presses for general consumption and what was disallowed by a vigilant, active government in the name of social order has been subject to some analysis.<sup>193</sup> Annabel Patterson contends that it was the interpretation of texts rather than the raw subject matter that was central to censorship, a changing code that allowed or disallowed material. How that code developed was a two-way street between government and authors, who discussed its boundaries and application. 'Complex psyches' balanced state-censorship and self-censorship to produce works where the intention was so deeply encoded as to be veiled, with authors often building an

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<sup>188</sup> See, for instance, Serials 4; 6; 7; 8.

<sup>189</sup> Barbara Donagan, 'Halcyon Days and the Literature of War: England's Military Education before 1642', *Past and Present*, No. 147, 1995, pp.65-100. See also her *War in England 1642-1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), Chapter 3, 'Military Educations', pp.33-61.

<sup>190</sup> Eltis, *Military Revolution*, pp.137-9.

<sup>191</sup> Raymond, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution*, p.3.

<sup>192</sup> Lawrence, 'Reappraising the Elizabethan and Early Stuart Soldier', p.17.

<sup>193</sup> F.S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776* (Urbana, 1952); Charles Gillett, *Burned Books: Neglected Chapters in British History and Literature*, 2 vols. (New York, 1932); Lawrence Hanson, *Government and the Press, 1695-1763* (London, 1936); Donald Thomas, *A Long Time Burning: The History of Literary Censorship in England* (London, 1969); Leona Rostenberg, *The Minority Press and the English Crown: A Study in Repression, 1558-1625* (Nieukoop, 1971).

ambiguity into texts that subsequent readers interpreted after their own fashion (and Sidney's *Arcadia*, or at least Greville's interpretation of it, is used as an example of this).<sup>194</sup>

## Research questions and method

The early-modern soldier from the British Isles fought out the religious and political issues of his age through proxy war in foreign lands, sometimes with and sometimes without his government's sanction. The experience of such soldiers has to be seen in the context of several factors. Firstly the extensive, logistically complicated and expensive warfare in which he was involved. This drove the sharp increase in the number of printed works reflecting the growing thirst for information regarding military matters. Other factors such as inflation, population growth, and a patronage system vying with the novelty of an increasingly professional military establishment added to the mix, along with apocalypticism and an underlying eschatology.

It is the printed literature produced by soldiers who fought during this extended period that provides the heart of this thesis and defines the period. That period extends from the print explosion concurrent with the English deployments to the Netherlands until the start of the English Civil War. Manuscript documents continued to be produced during this period, but for limited distribution among those who could afford them compared to the mass-production of cheap, printed information that rolled off the presses.<sup>195</sup> Printed information was viewed by far more people, it informed a wider cross-section of society, and it did so relatively quickly. It was more reliable than word of mouth, in that it held a consistent line that was not mutable through its onward transmission; the integrity of the information may have lacked a thorough verification process, but this did not weaken demand.

One of the core questions posed in the thesis is: what are the methodological problems involved in using soldier's published writings? The other is: when taken from

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<sup>194</sup> Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), pp. 3-43.

<sup>195</sup> Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).



soldiers' printed accounts and manuals what is the view of the period's military development? Supplementary questions include: is it a consistent view over the period and between the various accounts? How much of soldiers' commentary has been taken, ignored or manipulated since publication? How was it received by contemporaries? How have historians balanced these works with state documents and official correspondence? Is the picture different when seen through their printed material when compared to other sources?

Here the works of historians and their sources have been considered, preparatory to an analysis of the printed works produced by soldiers and a consideration of what gaps are left in, or possible distortions made to, current historiography. The overall method has been to deduce certain themes through which to consider the mentality of the soldier: his religion, his economic position, his political stance, his loyalty and concept of honour, his motivation to fight (generally a selection of one, or combination of several of the previous factors), his thoughts on 'Britain', Europe and general world-view; his experience of war and how this effected his attitudes. An attempt is made to show how the results of this detailed analysis help to modify the existing historiographical debates.

The historiography of the period to date is largely based on state papers, correspondence between key personalities, and other manuscript sources. A top-down approach has been adopted. The works of the soldiers themselves form only a small portion of the evidence, sporadically drawn upon by cautious historians aware of the potential subjectivity and inaccuracies of personal reports, even though as this thesis argues there were many works published containing myriad detail.

There are few historians who have taken a bottom-up perspective. In 2002 Geoff Mortimer adopted a particular method for his re-assessment of the Thirty Years' War. He analysed personal accounts from a range of occupations. He included only two soldiers, one of whom was Robert Monro, and his main thrust was to consider the validity and worth of the documents studied. Having weighed the balance between Monro's 'romanticism' and his attempt to 'keep close to the facts' he concluded Monro probably wrote the 'unvarnished truth'.<sup>196</sup> Bernhard R. Kroener looked at the living conditions of

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<sup>196</sup> Geoff Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years War 1618-48* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p.163.



soldiers in the Thirty Years' War, but he did so entirely through the works of other historians.<sup>197</sup>

This thesis argues that soldiers' own experience of warfare is both a valid subject in its own right and an important contribution to the historian's knowledge of other issues. While some historians have employed soldiers' printed and manuscript writings, they have generally done so in the service of a history of central administration, policy making or strategy. The genre of soldiers' published writings is explored in detail in the chapters that follow. The various types of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century publication are discussed in Chapter One, and these are the core sources for the thesis. Appendices 1 to 4 contain tabular lists of the various soldiers' writings, the data that created Table 2 above, showing the rise in printed works as the art of war developed and reflecting growing public interest in military affairs. Each chapter reflects upon how the research helps to elucidate or modify conclusions reached by historians thus far. Over and above that, the chapters consider how far these printed works can be used as a way into the experience of the early modern soldier.

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<sup>197</sup> Bernhard R. Kroener, "'The Soldiers are Very Poor, Bare, Naked, Exhausted': The Living Conditions and Organisational Structure of Military Society During the Thirty Years' War", Bussman and Schilling, 1648, pp.285-291.

## Chapter One

### The published works of soldiers

#### Introduction

This chapter surveys and analyses the works of a military nature published, in the main, by men who served in the conflicts of the period. However, not all authors of military works were soldiers, and there is an intellect versus experience aspect that will be investigated here.<sup>1</sup> The chapter will review the literary conventions of the period, the typology and traditions of military writing, as well as the rhetorical devices employed. It will consider the genres in which the works can be categorised, the target audience, the reasons why the soldiers sought publication, to whom the works were dedicated and why, and the accuracy and reliability of the subject matter. It will also discuss the methodological problems facing the historian attempting to answer these questions.

Historians have already investigated military works of the period but they have done so in order to expose and explore their didactic function. Several publications were textbooks,<sup>2</sup> which attempted to bridge the training gap that existed prior to the creation of formal military academies.<sup>3</sup> In 1900 Maurice J.D. Cockle published, in chronological order, a list of printed military books produced up until 1642.<sup>4</sup> His list of English publications forms the core (but not the entirety) of the tables at Appendices 1 to 3, which show the increase in military publications from the 1570s until the onset of the English Civil War. The graph in Chapter One draws its data from these appendices and shows the number of printed works that were

<sup>1</sup> 'Elizabethans were...familiar with the controversy between the book-soldier and the soldier who obtained his knowledge of warfare through experience'; Henry J. Webb, 'The Military Background in Othello', *Philological Quarterly*, 30 (1951), p.47.

<sup>2</sup> For example Robert Barret addressed all 'gallant minded young gentlemen' for whose 'instructions have these discourses bene principally penned'; Robert Barret, *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (London, 1598).

<sup>3</sup> 'Education abroad had religious and political dangers, but a number of English experiments with academies on the French model...were made from Elizabeth I's reign onwards. In 1635 the Museum Minervae was established under royal patronage by Sir Francis Kynaston...The Museum's curriculum reflected the need for scientific as well as classical studies and its course included...military studies...The fortunes of the Museum declined with those of its royal patron'; 'Private Education from the Sixteenth Century: Developments from the 16th to the early 19th century', in J.S Cockburn, H.P.F. King and K.G.T. MacDonnell, eds., *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 1: Physique, Archaeology, Domesday, Ecclesiastical Organization, The Jews, Religious Houses, Education of Working Classes to 1870, Private Education from Sixteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 241-255.

<sup>4</sup> Maurice J.D. Cockle, *A Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642 and of Contemporary Foreign Works* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1900 – General Books edition).

produced in the decades up to and including 1642, reflecting at a glance the increased public interest in military affairs as the European wars impacted on the psyche of the population.

Henry J. Webb discussed a number of printed military works in his publication of 1965,<sup>5</sup> drawing attention to the influence of Frontinus,<sup>6</sup> Onosander,<sup>7</sup> Vegetius<sup>8</sup> and, discussed below, Caesar, as the authority of classical antiquity permeated early modern military thought.<sup>9</sup> Foreign authors such as Machiavelli,<sup>10</sup> Porcia,<sup>11</sup> and Fourquevaux,<sup>12</sup> were also translated into English, and several English writers drew on classical or contemporary foreign works without necessarily declaring their source; a table of foreign translations is shown at Appendix 2. Directly and indirectly, the English art of war during this period developed out of foreign commentary, coupled with the experience gained by British soldiers earned for the most part in foreign armies. The exception to this was Ireland, a theatre of war that retained its own characteristics and was largely free of foreign influence.<sup>13</sup> Webb considered the works of Thomas Digges, Barnaby Rich, Sir John Smythe and Thomas Styward, all advocates to some extent of the Graeco-Roman model. He also considered those who held a more modern view such as William Garrard (with Robert Hitchcock), Sir Roger Williams and Humfrey Barwick. Webb also examined the works of Matthew Sutcliffe, Robert Barret and Giles Clayton, and the growing expertise in artillery through the work of Thomas Smith and William Bourne. He analysed the structure and weapons of both the infantry and the cavalry, and devoted a chapter to military medicine and surgery through the works of William Clowes, George Baker and Thomas Gale. His emphasis, though, was on the didactic aspects of these works and the debates the authors engaged in; the experience of warfare was not his focus, and he breaks off at the death of Elizabeth.

<sup>5</sup> Henry J. Webb, *Elizabethan Military Science: The Books and the Practice* (Madison, Milwaukee and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965).

<sup>6</sup> Sextus Julius Frontinus, *The Strategemes, Sleyghtes, and policies of warre*, trans. Richard Morrison (London, 1539).

<sup>7</sup> Onosandro Platonico, *Of the Generall Captaine, and of his office*, trans. Peter Whitehorne (London, 1563).

<sup>8</sup> Flavius Vegetius, *The Foure bookes of Flavius Vegetius Ranatus, brieflye containyng a plaine forme, and perfect knowledge of Martial policye, feates of Chivalrie, and whatever pertayneth to warre*, trans. John Sadler (London?, 1572). See also Henry J. Webb, 'The Elizabethan Translation of Vegetius' *De Re Militari*', *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 56, No.6, December 1941, pp.605-6.

<sup>9</sup> Webb, *Military Science*, p.6.

<sup>10</sup> Niccolo Macchiavelli, *The Arte of warre*, trans. Peter Whitehorne (London, 1560).

<sup>11</sup> Count Giacomo Porcia, *The preceptes of warre*, trans. Peter Betham (London, 1544).

<sup>12</sup> Raimond de Beccarie de Pavie, Sieur de Fourquevaux, *Instructions for the warres*, trans. Paul Ive (London, 1589).

<sup>13</sup> There were two exceptional incursions by the Spanish at Smerwick (1579) and Kinsale (1601). For the characteristics of Irish warfare see Introduction, p.6, n3.

The period and purpose of this thesis are different. The chronology extends into the seventeenth century and the thesis gauges the changes and consistencies in the experience of warfare as well as how military philosophy developed. A list of authors with their primary and, where applicable, secondary occupations is shown at Appendix 1.

This chapter will consider narratives of participants' experience and manuals produced for the guidance of others, focussing on accounts that describe personal experience and which reflect the views held by individuals. This is in marked contrast to those modern historians who have largely invested in state papers and correspondence to assess the events of the period. The work of historians who have specifically and deliberately targeted written narratives, such as J.X. Evans, William S. Brockington, Jr and A.T.S. Goodrick, has been helpful.<sup>14</sup> Their work is evaluated in more detail below.

### The continuing relevance of manuscript during the print revolution

Scholars have shown that printed works have to be set in the context of continuing manuscript circulation. Despite the boom in printing, the production and circulation of manuscripts continued throughout the period, and efforts have been made to identify and collate the works produced.<sup>15</sup> Manuscript newsletters continued to be written, in tandem with the printed *coranto*,<sup>16</sup> and a discrete business of 'scribal publication' formed around their production that may have seen the distribution of several hundred copies from a single manuscript.<sup>17</sup> Also in considerable demand were short political texts such as speeches or 'discourses' by prominent individuals. These were known as 'separates', contemporarily referred to as 'pocket manuscripts' (collections of which became 'compilations'), and were also produced and distributed in large quantities.<sup>18</sup> While 'unscrupulous scribes' could

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<sup>14</sup> J.X. Evans, ed., *The Works of Sir Roger Williams* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); William S. Brockington, Jr, ed., *Monro, His Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment called Mac-Keys* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Preager, 1999); A.T.S. Goodrick, ed., *The Relation of Sydenham Poyntz* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1908).

<sup>15</sup> Peter Beal, *Index of English literary manuscripts, i: 1450-1625* (London, 1980); *Index of English literary manuscripts, ii: 1625-1700* (London, 1987-93).

<sup>16</sup> These are listed at Appendix 4. That many show the Elector Palatine's coat of arms on the title page would indicate they reflected 'partisan political opinion'; *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p.18.

<sup>17</sup> Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.v; 11.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p.13.

exploit this demand by quickly producing their own inaccurate and hastily penned versions for a quick financial return, nevertheless the authors themselves would often be involved, directly or through an agent, in the circulation of their own speeches.<sup>19</sup> Other prose and poetical works across the spectrum of early modern writing were found in manuscript form. Thus it is clear a 'manuscript culture' existed alongside the expanding print culture,<sup>20</sup> so therefore differences between the two must have kept the former in healthy business (until well past beyond the window of this thesis) despite the visible success of the latter. It is probable that a major factor in the survival of manuscript was that it could contain information that would be unwise to declare in print, so an air of secretiveness accompanied the manuscript transmission of news.<sup>21</sup> There was also immediacy to manuscript production that placed it at an advantage over print.<sup>22</sup> Even though the system implied a smaller distribution when compared to print, a newsletter writer could build a network of subscribers who would pay to receive the information they had gathered, and if the clientele base grew large enough (and it may have risen to several hundred) additional clerks would be employed to keep pace with demand.<sup>23</sup>

Production of copies of an original manuscript could be considered 'publication' as this is a potentially separate and different process to 'printing'. 'Publication' as defined by Love is 'the movement from a private realm of creativity to the public realm of consumption', and can be achieved by means other than printing, such as the performance of a play.<sup>24</sup> Therefore manuscript texts that had passed through the deliberate process of copying and distribution in order to supply a demand, rather than manuscripts that had been edited in preparation for printing or held deliberately on restricted distribution for private consumption, could also be considered 'published'. Contemporary speech acknowledged this, for example the Earl of Essex claimed of his *Apology* that he had not 'published either in print or in writing'.<sup>25</sup> As previously noted, it may have been that manuscript was chosen over print specifically because its distribution could be controlled (although it could, of course, be copied

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p.18.

<sup>20</sup> H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.3.

<sup>21</sup> Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*, p.12. 'For in a letter [writers] might be bolder than they durst in print', Duke of Newcastle to Charles I, quoted in Sabrina A. Baron, 'The guises of dissemination in early seventeenth-century England: News in manuscript and print', in Dooley and Baron, *The Politics of Information*, p.42.

<sup>22</sup> Several reasons for the retention of manuscripts over print are presented by Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*, pp.387/8.

<sup>23</sup> Love, *Scribal Publication*, p.10/11.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p.36.

<sup>25</sup> Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*, p.18.

and re-distributed without the author's permission or knowledge). Likewise, a manuscript could be considered 'unpublished' if it was deliberately retained within a tightly specified circle, perhaps because the material was contentious or because it was kept within a family.<sup>26</sup>

Studies show the wide ranging subject area that manuscript production and distribution covered,<sup>27</sup> and it is only to be expected that, as soldiers contributed to the expanding print culture, so they would be found circulating manuscript material. Tracing the history of the relationship between manuscript and print publication of particular soldiers' texts is certainly relevant to this thesis. Sir Francis Vere's memoirs were not printed until 1657, forty eight years after his death, and were accompanied by comment from other contributors: Sir John Ogle,<sup>28</sup> Henry Hexham<sup>29</sup>, Sir Robert Naunton and the editor, William Dillingham. Additional comment was included from Sir Clement Edmondes.<sup>30</sup> These contributions made the publication a work about Vere that incorporated his memoirs, rather than Vere's memoirs *per se*.<sup>31</sup> How relevant the printed work was to the reading public in 1657 is outside the scope of this thesis. What is relevant is that the memoir clearly had circulated widely in manuscript form. According to Love's paradigm it had been 'published', in that the author had lost control over its onward distribution. It was transferred from the private to the public domain while in manuscript form. It was then posthumously printed as part of a compilation by a later editor, the Cambridge academic William Dillingham. Dillingham was only loosely connected, if at all, with the original circle of distribution: he describes himself as the friend of the dedicatee Horace Townshend, great nephew of Vere.<sup>32</sup> The parliamentarian general Philip Skippon,<sup>33</sup> who had served under Vere's brother Horace, had a copy of the manuscript, as did members of Vere's extended family.<sup>34</sup> It may have been that Vere intended publication but for his premature death; the truth of that will never be known, but the fact remains that the

<sup>26</sup> Love, *Scribal Publication*, pp.39; 43. Love gives the example of Donne's *Biathanatos*, a treatise on suicide, and Dudley North's poems copied by his widow for her children.

<sup>27</sup> Wallace Notestein and Frances Relf, *Commons debates for 1629* (Minneapolis, 1921) looked at political separates and newsletters; Love studied parliamentary proceedings, verse miscellanies, plays and poetry; Woudhuysen was interested in Sidney the poet rather than Sidney the soldier.

<sup>28</sup> Vere's second in command.

<sup>29</sup> Vere's page.

<sup>30</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (henceforward *ODNB*): Sir Clement Edmondes was with Vere at Nieuwpoort, his family had connections with the Veres and he had dedicated his translation of Caesar's *Commentaries* of 1600 to Vere.

<sup>31</sup> William Dillingham, ed., *The Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere* (Cambridge, 1657).

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 'The Epistle Dedicatory.'

<sup>33</sup> *ODNB*: Philip Skippon.

<sup>34</sup> *ODNB*: Sir Francis Vere.

memoir reached an audience that could be considered the 'selective' distribution of the 'manuscript culture'. Some of the contributors' comment also circulated in manuscript: Sir Robert Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia* was completed in 1634,<sup>35</sup> one year before the author's death, and was distributed in manuscript but not published until 1641.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand Ogle, who died one year prior to publication of *The Commentaries*, nevertheless appears to have written his piece especially for Dillingham.<sup>37</sup> Hexham may possibly have done so too, as his account of the siege of Ostend does not feature elsewhere although he was dead by 1650.<sup>38</sup> It is therefore important to note that while the information contained within the Dillingham work was produced by contemporaries, three of whom were eye witnesses to key events, and is of significant interest to a study of early modern military narratives, only parts of it could have influenced contemporaries, and only those on the limited manuscript distribution. Manuscript pieces were then 'compiled' into a printed edition decades later.<sup>39</sup> Dillingham's manuscript research is a reflection of the mechanism of manuscript culture. D.J.B. Trim's biography of Vere states that Dillingham originally saw a copy 'in the possession of' Philip Skippon,<sup>40</sup> but this is not entirely accurate. Dillingham saw 'a copy of it in a library of a friend, which had either been transcribed from, or at least compared with another in the owning and possession of Major-General Skippon'. Dillingham, having found 'some imperfections and doubtful places' in that copy, then looked for other copies, believing it 'improbable that they would all stumble at the same stone'. That is, he looked to compare several copies to seek out errors in transcription. He compared his copy with the copies of the Earl of Westmorland and Lord Fairfax, and finally brought into his possession the original, borrowed from its owner the Earl of Clare.<sup>41</sup> Thus the distribution of manuscript: an original, copied (but with each copy unique) and distributed to a tightly restricted network, further copied with additional transcription errors to create a secondary level of distribution presumably without original authority.<sup>42</sup> Dillingham printed the work as he believed that, as a

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<sup>35</sup> ODNB: Sir Robert Naunton.

<sup>36</sup> Sir Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia, or Observations on the late Queen Elizabeth, Her Times and Favorits* (London, 1641).

<sup>37</sup> ODNB: Sir John Ogle.

<sup>38</sup> ODNB: Henry Hexham.

<sup>39</sup> For a similar occurrence see Love's analysis of Notestein and Relph's work on parliamentary printed material taken from available manuscript works in 1629 in Love, *Scribal Publication*, p.16.

<sup>40</sup> ODNB, s.n. Vere.

<sup>41</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, 'To the ingenuous Reader.'

<sup>42</sup> It is worth noting that not all printed copies were the same either, and Anna Simoni makes this point. Anna E.C. Simoni, 'A Present for a Prince', in J.A. van Dorsten, ed., *Ten Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1974), p.55.

manuscript, it was 'concealed in obscurity'.<sup>43</sup> The compilation that Dillingham published in print portrayed an image that the original close circle of recipients and their descendants would have approved,<sup>44</sup> even though it has produced critical debate since.<sup>45</sup>

Another source document for this thesis that was not printed during the lifetime of its author is the memoir of Sydenham Poyntz. This was published only in 1908, following the discovery of the original manuscript in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale written in Poyntz's handwriting.<sup>46</sup> Poyntz's account of his experience of war in Europe, his *Relation*, was apparently not intended for publication. He maintained that he wrote it because it was 'desired by many of my friends', although this was a trope of the period and standard practice.<sup>47</sup> This internal evidence suggests a degree of sincerity regarding the subject matter. If he had intended to embroider the facts he would perhaps have presented a far more impressive picture of himself than he has done. These factors seem to imply legitimacy, and his comments regarding his conversion to Catholicism, problematic material that was to plague him later in life, would appear to support that view. However, although we can discount financial or political gain as motives for writing, his account is nevertheless rambling and at times factually unreliable, and drifts from a disjointed, subjective and inaccurate account of the decisions of princes and generals to action on the ground in the first person. As Goodrick, the editor of the *Relation* observes, 'at Breitenfeld, Lützen and Nördlingen, he is an unimpeachable authority', and that 'wherever Poyntz was an eyewitness...he is an authority, and a professional authority'.<sup>48</sup> By the time he became a Parliamentary general he had dismissed any thoughts of Catholicism, presenting himself as 'an Elder of the Dutch church' and 'constant...in the Reformed Protestant Religion.'<sup>49</sup> While this may have been true at that time, clearly it had not always been the case, as he had stated in his memoir somewhat unequivocally:

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<sup>43</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, 'To the ingenuous Reader.'

<sup>44</sup> Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*, p.386.

<sup>45</sup> Tracy Borman, 'Sir Francis Vere in the Netherlands, 1589-1603: A re-evaluation of his career as Sergeant Major General of Elizabeth I's troops', PhD thesis, University of Hull, 1997.

<sup>46</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.43.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, p.45. Autobiographical publication was generally deplored rather than admired. Exceptionally it was acceptable for soldiers to publish, but they still felt obliged to state a reason for writing, see for example Robert Monro below (note 87) and Barnaby Rich, who wrote 'at the request of some of my dearest friends' in his *Farewell to Militarie Profession* (London, 1574), 'To the Readers in generall'.

<sup>48</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, pp.5; 7.

<sup>49</sup> Sydenham Poyntz, *The Vindication Of Colonel General Poyntz* (London, 1646).



At length they [a party that included a Franciscan friar] broke with mee which was the true Religion, which they proved to be no other, than that which is commonly called Papistry and their reasons were so strong joyned with such wonderfull humility and charity towards mee, that I could not chose but admit of it and follow their advise therein which was to bee made a member of that holy Church and wherein Gods grace I mean to dy ...<sup>50</sup>

Poyntz's high rank in the Parliamentary army suggests that his work was not widely distributed in manuscript form. It is more probable that the memoir had at most very limited distribution, and that, as he says in his *Vindication*, the reason suspicion was cast upon him was 'because I served the Emperour against the Duke of Saxony'.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, works composed in manuscript could allow an author to wriggle free of awkward implications whereas the more permanent medium of a printed account could be far more difficult to shrug off. Love says of Andrew Marvell that he was able to dismiss accounts of his Cromwellian past because certain works remained only in manuscript.<sup>52</sup> Poyntz's *Relation* features as a source for this thesis where the experience of soldiers involved in combat is relevant, such as Chapter Five, but it clearly has to be disregarded as a contemporary influence.

### The use of narrative from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Historians have tended to be dismissive of the worth of contemporary narratives, not least due to the frailties of human memory, but in fact they can be made to yield much that is of value. Simon Adams has stated that 'literary sources and contemporary narratives' are 'notoriously inaccurate'.<sup>53</sup> Geoffrey Parker, exposing a falsehood of Grimmelshausen, warns against using prose works as historical evidence, while Fritz Redlich uses such works with the caveat that they are useful when used 'appropriately', and considers Grimmelshausen to be of 'the highest value' as 'our most reliable contemporary witness'.<sup>54</sup> The need to keep information in context is true of other forms of written primary source material: letters are

<sup>50</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.54.

<sup>51</sup> Poyntz, *Vindication*.

<sup>52</sup> Love, *Scribal Publication*, p.63.

<sup>53</sup> Simon Adams, 'Tactics or Politics? "The Military Revolution" and the Habsburg Hegemony, 1525-1648', in John A. Lynn, ed., *Tools of War: Instruments, Ideas and Institutions of Warfare, 1445-1871* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), pp.30; 48, n11. The inaccuracy can be interesting in itself, as it could suggest the absence of clear lines of communication within the army.

<sup>54</sup> Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis 1598-1648* (London: Fontana, 1979), pp.336-7, although Parker uses Grimmelshausen in his essay 'The Soldier', in Rosario Villari, ed., *Baroque Personae* (University of Chicago Press, 1995), p.40; Fritz Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser and his Work Force: A Study in European Economic and Social History* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1964-5), pp.146-7, 359.

often written with a particular aim in mind that can exaggerate or minimise any given scenario, and when Geoffrey Hudson reviews the petitions of ex-servicemen he warns that they must be read 'to a certain extent, as a form of fiction'.<sup>55</sup> In effect this all amounts to the same thing: contemporary comment has to be used advisedly, even sceptically, but it has considerable value when properly and carefully used and interpreted and placed in context. Such works belong to different categories and raise different issues. Grimmelshausen may have borrowed Sir Philip Sidney's description of the battle of Wittstock without citing the appropriate reference, but Sidney had experience of warfare, and the carnage of one battle is probably not dissimilar to another but for the matter of scale. *Simplicissimus* is, after all, a novel, declared by the author as such, albeit replete with the author's, and apparently others', life experiences.<sup>56</sup> The problem for the historian in such cases will always be that of disentangling fact from fiction. The veracity of more traditional sources such as state papers and official reports could also be questionable; letters may not reveal a great deal.<sup>57</sup> What of soldiers who claimed to write, not out of their imagination and in order to impress an audience through neat prose, but through their own accountable experience? Are their memoirs true reflections of the actions, the courage and the toil (perhaps the avarice and debauchery) of the soldiers? Sir Roger Williams commented: 'it is a shame for a souldier to write lesse than truth'.<sup>58</sup> Williams' editor believed that soldiers were more reliable than other commentators, remarking that when evidence is conflicting 'as a rule we should look to the soldier – to the man of action, who is on the spot'.<sup>59</sup> Vere carried the visible wounds of many close encounters and the testimony of other eye witnesses to support his narrative, as did Williams and Monro. In Poyntz's memoir the sacrifice of accuracy in terms of time and place can be accepted when in its stead are found reflections of the experience of early modern combat.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Geoffrey L. Hudson, 'Ex-serviceman's Own Stories in Early Modern England', in Roberta Bivins and John V. Pickstone, eds., *Medicine, Madness and Social History: Essays in Honour of Roy Porter* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p.106.

<sup>56</sup> Johann Grimmelshausen, *The Adventures of Simplicius Simplicissimus* (1668), trans. by Mike Mitchell (Sawtry: Dedalus, 1999), pp.176-7.

<sup>57</sup> 'The amount of valuable information found [in more than 500 letters written by Scottish soldiers] proved extremely disappointing', James A. Fallon, 'Scottish Mercenaries and in the Service of Denmark and Sweden 1626-1632', PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1973, p.21.

<sup>58</sup> Sir Roger Williams, *The Actions of the Low Countries* (London, 1618), p.80.

<sup>59</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.5.

<sup>60</sup> While Adriana McCrea found Greville's *Life of Sidney* in part a subjective glorification of Sidney and others, she states '...when Greville describes various episodes involving Sidney but witnessed by him...the drama of those moments is captured, the past comes alive...', Adriana McCrea, 'Whose Life Is It, Anyway? Subject and Subjection in Fulke Greville's *Life of Sidney*', in Thomas F. Mayer and D.R. Woods, eds., *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe: Forms of Biography from Cassandre Fidele to Louis XIV* (University of Michigan, 1995), p.307.

State documents rarely expose the historian to the grim reality of battle, probably because there was little call for such detail in the corridors of power. To a public thirsting for news the experience of war was no doubt of compelling interest, even if the finer detail may have been subject to unverifiable sources and guesswork, as shown in the following section.

### Authority and legitimacy

Historians need to establish the authoritativeness and accuracy of soldiers' writings. A number of problems have to be faced. One major drawback to relying on personal accounts is that, in a largely illiterate society, only a small proportion of the soldiery was able to write so the pool of opinion is shallow. Contemporary reference to the common people, the rank and file, is usually identified by use of the plural, for instance the 'German mercenaries' who were considered unreliable, or 'silly simple Italians'.<sup>61</sup> These are collectives for a nation and a military group, whereas to describe an individual as a 'soldier' is to immediately give him, and the profession, a status: a person below the owning class would not require an individual identity.<sup>62</sup> Even if a lowborn private soldier had been educated in his village and was literate, a situation that was entirely plausible if not particularly common, there would have been no market for his view. Therefore all the accounts were produced by those who were, or who had claimed to have been born into, the social position of 'gentleman' and could therefore be seen as authoritative.<sup>63</sup> So these authors, in the act of publication, claimed both authority and legitimacy.

Having a pedigree and an undisputed status would enhance the credibility of an author still further. Of the main authors studied, at least four of them knew or claimed to know the princes for whom they fought. Robert Monroe related at least two occasions where he

<sup>61</sup> Robert Monroe, *Monro His Expedition With The Worthy Scots Regiment (Called Mac-Keyes Regiment) levied in August 1626* (London, 1637), II, p.15.

<sup>62</sup> Monroe 'rarely mentions anyone from the lower classes by name, finding the Scottish rank and file to be "resolute and stout" of heart but unworthy of being cited as individuals,' Brockington, *Monro*, p.xxi.

<sup>63</sup> There is considerable debate concerning who was and who was not a member of the gentry. The ME definition of a gentleman was 'someone of noble birth', by the late sixteenth century it referred to an individual whose wealth freed him from labour (*OED*). According to an MP from 1624, 'He that hath no property in his goods is not free', and references to liberty and freedom in this period should be considered with that in mind; Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1980), p.38. Oliver Cromwell was born into a prominent family but for a period dropped below the status of Yeoman, defined as: 'A man holding a small landed estate; a freeholder below the rank of gentleman' (*OED*). Peter Gaunt, *Oliver Cromwell* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p.34. Martyn Bennett, *Oliver Cromwell* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), p.4. According to his biographer Thomas Churchyard 'claims to have been a gentleman but there is no evidence of this': *ODNB*.

disagreed with King Gustavus Adolphus during personal conversations with him, and remarked that the King shared his quarters at Bernau and hosted him warmly 'houlding his Arme over my shoulder' in Halle.<sup>64</sup> Sydenham Poyntz tells us that Elector John George of Saxony knew him well enough to have a nick-name for him,<sup>65</sup> Sir Francis Vere was personally well known to both Queen Elizabeth and Prince Maurice,<sup>66</sup> and Sir Roger Williams was also personally well known to the Queen and became a personal favourite of William the Silent and was with him at his assassination.<sup>67</sup> It is possible that Henry Hexham was personally known by Prince Maurice and Prince Frederick-Henry. Vere and Williams were known outside their immediate circle, famous in their own right and, by the time they retired, wealthy men. Poyntz and Monro, despite their professional expertise that enabled them to claim high-ranking appointments on return to the British Isles, struggled amid the fortunes of civil war to make a name (or at least a good one) or a living. Hexham stayed within his comfort zone with the Dutch, although his ability to articulate his experiences was rewarded with the publication of more works than any other soldier.

Despite the advantages of literacy and the connections that many senior officers had in their homeland, even if the majority of military leaders could write,<sup>68</sup> it would appear that few did so. Our archive of personal accounts is tiny when compared to the number of men who actually fought.<sup>69</sup> Was it, nevertheless, representative of soldiers' experience? It is argued in this thesis that whatever was printed or distributed widely in manuscript was the product of experience from individuals whose basic credentials were sound even if some of their facts may have been erroneous. To take an example: Sergeant Major Forbes, while serving in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, claimed in a published letter to his father from Breitenfeld: 'I write noe more unto you but that which I saw with my owne eyes'. His letter included force

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<sup>64</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, pp.12;39;44;75.

<sup>65</sup> John George called him 'little Englishman'; Goodrick, *Relation*, p.59.

<sup>66</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, pp.20; 69; 73.

<sup>67</sup> Evans, *Works*, pp.xxiii; xxiv.

<sup>68</sup> Not all could. The Scotsman Alexander Leslie, who attained the rank of Field Marshal in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, was reputed to be illiterate. *ODNB*: Alexander Leslie.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Trim, 'Fighting "Jacob's War"', p.46: 'There is a remarkably large body of sources showing the common soldier's viewpoint.' I take this to mean that of the available sources, which are few, many are from the ranks, although his bibliography does not support that either, but I accept that there were a disproportionately high number of gentlemen fighting.

strengths,<sup>70</sup> and these can be compared with the account of Robert Monro, who was also present at the battle.<sup>71</sup> Historians have differed in their statistics for this battle: Geoffrey Parker quoted a variety of sources including Monro,<sup>72</sup> while for Peter Wilson the source for his figures is unclear.<sup>73</sup> All four are compared in Table 3 below. Forbes stressed ‘this is the truth of the great victorie’,<sup>74</sup> and there is no reason to doubt his presence at the battle even if his figures have been challenged. Likewise Monro assured his dedicatee that his was ‘a true and simple narration’, and to his readers he claimed he wrote ‘with truth and simplicitie’.<sup>75</sup>

	Forbes	Monro	Parker	Wilson
<b>Imperialists</b>	40,000	44,000	31,400	37,000
<b>Swedes/Saxons</b>	36,000	30,000	41,000	39,000
<b>Imperialist Dead</b>	10,000	8,000	Not stated	7,000
<b>Swede/Saxon Dead</b>	Not reported	3,000	Not stated	2,100
<b>Prisoners (Imperialist)</b>	8,000	Not reported	Not stated	9,000

**Table 3: Battle of Breitenfeld 1631 – Comparison of Figures**

Both Forbes and Monro, according to Parker and Wilson, may have substantially misrepresented their army’s strength in relation to the enemy, portraying their force as facing and overcoming superior opposition. Whether deliberately or unintentionally (troop numbers are always difficult to estimate), this does not detract from the essence of the event on which they are reporting: an over-whelming and significant victory for Gustavus Adolphus. Similarly Poyntz, inaccurate on many details, believed he was part of Mansfeld’s army of 30,000 facing Tilly with his force also of 30,000 at Dessau Bridge. In fact Wallenstein

<sup>70</sup> John Forbes, *A Letter Sent From Sarjent Major Forbes From The King of Swethens army to his reverend father Mr. John Forbes, minister to the worshipful Company of Marchant Adventurers residing in Delft, touching the great Battle fought by Lypsick betweene the King of Swethen, the Duke of Saxons Army, and the Emperors Army, and that commanded by Generall Tilly, of the Catholique League the 7. Of September, 1631* (Amsterdam, 1631). Of the 10,000 dead he stated ‘most of them’ were the enemy, without giving an actual breakdown.

<sup>71</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, pp.63, 67.

<sup>72</sup> Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military innovation and the rise of the West 1500-1800*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.23.

<sup>73</sup> Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe’s Tragedy* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), pp.472-475.

<sup>74</sup> Forbes, *Letter*, p.2. Dauvit Horsbroch, ‘Wish You Were Here? Scottish Reactions to “Postcards” home from the ‘Germane Warres’’, in Steve Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years’ War, 1618-1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p.250.

<sup>75</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, Dedication to Elector Palatine; To The Reader.

defeated Mansfeld at Dessau, not Tilly, with a force of 14,000, Mansfeld's force being half that size.<sup>76</sup> These details are of course important, and it is part of the historian's task to ascertain the accuracy of reports. But the human factor of individual experience is as much a part of the overall picture as the statistics, and it is this element that has been largely ignored by historians who have focussed on policy, strategy, and numbers, to the detriment of a fuller understanding of events.

One should enter the caveat that both a printed and manuscript source may have been written or amended after the events it recalls by the original author or a later editor, and this is discussed below.

The primary source material for this thesis has been produced by Englishmen, Welshmen and Scots. Authors include professional soldiers, mercenaries and short-term volunteers who fought from the 1570s through to the 1630s.<sup>77</sup> They may have been motivated through religion, a major factor in both the Elizabethan struggle with Spain over God's 'truth' and the 'religious war' in Germany.<sup>78</sup> This motivation is expressed with passion by men such as Hexham and Monro from later in the period but is noticeably absent in other accounts such as those of Williams and Vere from the earlier stages of the Eighty Years' War. Geoffrey Gates is an Elizabethan exception, but his open friendship with the Catholic William Blandy would indicate a balance to his zeal.<sup>79</sup> The behaviour of these men may have been directed through a concept of loyalty which combined a sense of 'nation' (the state and/or ruling house) amid a multi-national scenario where their 'national' regiment served either directly under a foreign general or with British leadership but for a foreign prince or state. This was bound in with their view of 'honour' and whether or not honour was, in itself and not necessarily connected to a religion or loyalty to a monarch or patron, a driving force behind serving. Also key to the legitimacy of their accounts would be their economic condition, that

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<sup>76</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, pp.14, 47; Wilson, *Thirty Years War*, p.410, quoting two German historical accounts.

<sup>77</sup> For definitions, see Chapter Two.

<sup>78</sup> Paul J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.55. Robert Bireley, 'The Thirty Years' War as Germany's Religious War', in Konrad Repgen, ed., *Krieg und Politik 1618-1648* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1988), pp.85-106.

<sup>79</sup> There is reason to believe fraternization between Catholics and Protestants was not particularly unusual. See, for instance, the comments on the Earl of Essex's 'party' in Chapter Three. On the complexities of religious belief see Debora Shuger, 'A Protesting Catholic Puritan in Elizabethan England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 3, July 2009, pp.587-630.

is whether they were in need of subsistence (pay or plunder) or whether their involvement in war included a personal financial outlay.

Not all the soldiers who left accounts of their military experience are reliable sources. George Gascoigne fought in the Low Countries for two short periods prior to the Treaty of Nonsuch, and has recorded his experiences, but his writings were unashamedly for profit and it has been commented that his work 'reads like a sixteenth-century romance and contributes very little to our knowledge of the age'.<sup>80</sup> This view has been supported recently in an article that noted his gross exaggeration of the deaths caused by the Spanish during the 1576 sack of Antwerp.<sup>81</sup> Despite these inaccuracies, it is nevertheless indicative of the growing public interest in military affairs that he could seek to make a profit from printing such material.<sup>82</sup>

The thesis has made some use of foreign sources. Christophe de Bonours was a Walloon soldier who recorded his experience of the siege of Ostend, although his account was not published until 1628, and not in English.<sup>83</sup> Likewise the anonymous German soldier (believed now to be one Peter Hagendorf) who recorded his experiences of the Thirty Years' War was not published until 1993 and then only in German.<sup>84</sup> I have made use of them because they reflect the experience of war from the European viewpoint, an experience clearly and unsurprisingly similar to that of the British soldiers. Additionally there are some quotes from Anthonis Duyck, a Dutch civil servant on the march with Prince Maurice and Sir Francis Vere, whose accounts not only show interesting aspects of the fledgling Republic's military difficulties, but also how an early modern narrative on a military subject has been assessed as honestly created and maintained.<sup>85</sup>

It is important to assess an individual's reason for keeping a written record of his experiences, because this may supply clues about the accuracy or otherwise of the account. Of particular interest are those who claimed not to offer their work for publication and therefore

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<sup>80</sup> ODNB: George Gascoigne; Evans, *Works*, p.cxliv.

<sup>81</sup> David Randall, 'Providence, Fortune, and the Experience of Combat: English Printed Battlefield Reports, circa 1570-1637', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXXV/4, 2004, p.1065.

<sup>82</sup> George Gascoigne, *The Spoyle of Antwerp* (London, 1576).

<sup>83</sup> Christophe de Bonours, *Le Mémorable Siège d'Ostende* (Brussels: Jean de Meerbeek, 1628).

<sup>84</sup> *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreissigjährigen Krieg* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Peter H. Wilson, ed., *The Thirty Years War: A Sourcebook*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.167n1.

<sup>85</sup> L. Mulder, ed., *Journal van Anthonis Duyck*, (s'Gravenhage: 1862-5).

expected neither financial reward nor political gain. Of the printed sources used in this thesis, some were posthumously published, indicating they did not write for financial gain.<sup>86</sup> Monro published during his lifetime and, even though a soldier of Christ and devoted to the house of Stuart, probably did so for financial gain despite his claim to the contrary.<sup>87</sup> If they wrote, and if they published, they had a real or perceived audience. It is possible they could be attempting to vindicate themselves from some blame, to encourage patronage for their own advantage, or to discredit someone else. Such reasons, should they be conjectured or even declared, would not necessarily indicate wholesale inaccuracies in their entire account.

Deciding whether or not an account is to be trusted is difficult. Some are in places demonstrably incorrect because they can be checked against established 'facts' cross-referenced from a number of other sources. In other cases there may exist a partiality to their opinions that may be sufficient to cast doubt upon their objectivity. It is difficult to assess why the Englishman Sydenham Poyntz decided to commit his memoirs to manuscript. As a company-level infantry commander he had a middle-ranking view of events and he faced a great deal of trouble had his *Relation* been published during his own lifetime because of his comments on religion. This suggests that it may be an authentic account as far as its reliability is concerned. No other reason presents itself for the expression of his view, loaded as it was with risk, other than this particular aspect of his account was the truth.

On the other hand Sir Francis Vere, as a well-known general, could have anticipated a wide and interested audience from which to make political gain, although he did not go to print in his lifetime either. However, as Tracy Borman and David Trim both point out, because an account is not published does not mean it did not circulate in manuscript. Clearly the Vere account did, although to what end is not clear. Tracy Borman has concluded that it was written with the aim of 'preserving (and indeed embellishing) his reputation for centuries to come'.<sup>88</sup> Trim has suggested that it may have been written in order to instruct the younger generation of military leaders, and if so it falls into the category of didactic military works

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<sup>86</sup> Posthumously published accounts include those of Sir Francis Vere, Sydenham Poyntz and Anthonis Duyck. For discussion of their relative impartiality, see below.

<sup>87</sup> Monro declared: '...I wrote...because I loved my Camerades...I published them...for my friends, and not for the world, for which I care not...', Monro, *Expedition*, To the Reader. He may have published for financial gain; Brockington, pp.xv n6; xvii; xxv. The book was re-published under the title *The Scotch Military Discipline* (London, 1644).

<sup>88</sup> Borman, *Vere*, p.32.



begun by Machiavelli and produced throughout the period of this thesis.<sup>89</sup> Vere wrote from a position of command, if not the man in charge on the ground then very close to both Prince Maurice and the ultimate paymasters, the States-General. Although he criticised his high command, they were foreign and as he was not in a position to threaten their power, likewise they could not jeopardise his retirement. Historians such as Motley and Borman regarded his as an immodest account, and he an immodest man. That does not necessarily render either account or man unreliable. Immodesty does not indicate untruth, and his accounts of Turnhout and Nieuwpoort, written by one of the leading military figures in the Flemish area of warfare, must warrant serious consideration. Within the Dillingham edition is an account of the 'parlie at Ostend' written by Vere's lieutenant colonel, Sir John Ogle. This was a controversial episode, where Vere entered into negotiations with the enemy involving the exchange of 'pledges'. Ogle, who was one of two 'pledges', gives us his explicit reason for recording the event in writing:

Now because I was in some sort the onely instrument he [Vere] used in the managing thereof, and best acquainted with all passages, I have (*for the love I owe to truth, and his memory*) thought good to set down in writing, what I have heretofore delivered (by their commandments), to the Lords the States-Generall in their Council-chamber, as also sometime after that to the Prince Maurice of Nassau and the Earl William his cozen, concerning this matter.<sup>90</sup>

Ogle stayed loyal to Vere, thus contradicting the Meteren account that portrayed Vere as being on the verge of handing over the city to the enemy, despite the pique Ogle expressed at Vere's failure to mention him in the rescue of the general from underneath his dead horse at Nieuwpoort.<sup>91</sup> Also in the Dillingham work is an account of the siege of Ostend by Henry Hexham, who must have been about sixteen at the time but even so very much involved in the heat of the action:

General Vere perceiving the enemy to fall off, commanded me to run as fast as ever I could to Serjeant-major Carpenter, and the Auditour Fleming, who were upon Helmont, that they should open the West-sluce, out of which there ran such stream and

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<sup>89</sup> ODNB: s.n. Vere. Trim suggests a scholarly view was that 'Vere wrote a private work intended to aid the military education of future English officers'.

<sup>90</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.144. My italics; these two stated reasons may be in contention.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, p.106: '...I cannot but wonder that it pleased him [Vere] not to make mention of me..'; regarding Meteren, pp. 144; 153.

torrent down through the chanel of the West-haven, that upon their retreat it carried away many of their sound and hurt men into the sea...<sup>92</sup>

The work is presented as a eulogy by those who saw Vere as a military hero, and his nineteenth-century biographer Clements Markham used the Hexham passage above to undermine the claim by Motley that it was Fleming who had conceived the plan to open the sluice gate, not Vere. Those who are less convinced by the immodesty of Vere tend to believe he laid claim to others' ideas, although the 'anti-parley' affair appears to have no other contenders and was in itself a bold plan made by a man in *de facto* independent command.<sup>93</sup>

Human memory is not sufficiently robust to recall experiences with complete accuracy. Even in the space of a few months the chronology or detail of a series of many significant events over a short timeline, such as the course of a battle, may become distorted. Robert Monro stated ruefully: 'no man doth remember the halfe of his owne actions, much lesse to remarke the actions of others'.<sup>94</sup> It is worthwhile to investigate whether insufficient memory or purposeful design has altered the facts. Poyntz, we have noted above, left a rare and absorbing account of his experiences in the Thirty Years' War and probably wrote soon after them.<sup>95</sup> It is safe to conclude that the events in which he was physically present have the ring of truth about them, and his placing of an event in the wrong location, such as his account of the battle of Nördlingen,<sup>96</sup> should not detract from the truth of his experience just because his memory has failed to cite the action in the correct town. After all, it is indisputable that Poyntz was a soldier who had seen a great deal of action, so the relation of his personal experience, which significantly does not seek to over-state his leadership qualities or military abilities, can be taken at face value. It is the information that eludes corroboration, and the second-hand information that could well fall into the category of gossip, that has to be considered with greater caution. Poyntz's opinions supporting the Catholic religion are the most notable, given his later position as an elder of the Dutch Reformed Church, and his comments in the 'Vindication' written several years later in a more charged political

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<sup>92</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.174.

<sup>93</sup> Clements R. Markham, *The Fighting Veres: Lives of Sir Francis Vere, General of the Queen's Forces in the Low Countries, Governor of the Brill and of Portsmouth, and of Sir Horace Vere, General of the English Forces in the Low Countries, Governor of the Brill, Master-General of the Ordnance, and Baron Vere of Tilbury* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1888), p.328.

<sup>94</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, p.70.

<sup>95</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.123, n5.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*, p.116, n1.

atmosphere, as they show how an individual can conveniently forget the past in order to avoid apparent contradictions later. It is reasonable to conclude, even though beyond historiographical proof, that Poyntz's zealous commitment to Presbyterianism that forced him out of England after the Second Civil War was in part a counter-balance to his 'mistakes' regarding Catholicism earlier in life.

Situations change; the case seldom remains unaltered. The memoirs of the Dutchman Anthonis Duyck are of particular value because of his impartiality despite the passage of time. He recorded what he saw, and his journals were not intended for publication and were not edited later. The Scottish soldier Sir James Turner, on the other hand, wrote of his experiences in the Thirty Years' War more than a decade after they had occurred, although it is not his choice of an army in Germany that is the main political point but his choice on leaving that theatre and coming home. Through his account he has, as a later Royalist, attempted to justify his joining the Covenanting army on return to Scotland.<sup>97</sup> As for Poyntz, as noted above, he later totally refuted his declared Catholicism during his time in Germany and his friendship with prominent Catholics. As a Colonel-General in the Parliamentary army he stressed his 'constant Profession ...in the Reformed Protestant Religion' through his *Vindication*.<sup>98</sup> The *Vindication* was published, the *Relation* was not, but was presumably known by some. His Protestant credentials later in life cannot eradicate what he himself had written of an earlier period, and it is beyond belief that he could have forgotten it. Poyntz, in his *Vindication*, is an example of a man writing to change his past in order to protect his future. And yet, because of rather than despite this religious anomaly, the value in a personal account is manifest: we come to know something altogether curious about a man that we would not otherwise have guessed. Additionally, and equally valuable, the experience of war expressed by Poyntz is far clearer, in greater detail and expressed with more honesty and human feeling than any comment in the State Papers. The issue of his religious dilemma is in itself an interesting reflection of the spiritual-cum-political difficulties of the age. So the raw portrayal of war gives us a vivid picture of early modern military life.

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<sup>97</sup> Sir James Turner, *Memoirs of his own life and times, 1632-1670*, ed. by T. Thomson, Bannatyne Club, 28 (1829), p.14.

<sup>98</sup> Poyntz, *Vindication*.

### The 'military revolution' and the British 'art militarie'

There are several publications of the period produced by professional soldiers and designed to instruct the uninitiated. This genre was becoming increasingly popular. There were also armchair theorists, such as John Cruso, who reproduced and wrote several military works. Although from Dutch extraction, Cruso had never served in the Low Countries wars, confining his own experience to the local Norwich Militia. However, he is credited with bringing modern Dutch military theory to English audiences.<sup>99</sup> Authors such as Cruso were viewed sceptically by soldiers like Humfrey Barwick who opined that experience was a necessary prerequisite for authorship of military manuals: 'how can any man whatsoever he be, know what he did never see?'<sup>100</sup> The answer was by adapting earlier works, usually foreign, without necessarily acknowledging them. Thomas Norton's work on artillery was taken largely from a Spanish original by Uffano, much to the chagrin of Francis Malthus who accused Norton of claiming the Uffano work as his own. To be fair to Norton he had acknowledged his debt to Uffano, and Malthus could be guilty of petty professional malice in the same way that Norton had accused fellow gunner Thomas Smith of 'arch false proportionality' a year before.<sup>101</sup> In the main such plagiarism was acceptable practice, and experienced soldiers could be guilty of it as well as armchair theorists.<sup>102</sup> This manner of combining original authors with contemporary comment leads to some difficulties in categorisation. For instance Sir Clement Edmondes translated parts of Caesar's *Commentaries*, but added so much of his own comment that it exceeds the word-count of Caesar. As this renders the book something other than just a linguistic translation I have placed Edmondes in Appendix 1 rather than Appendix 2.<sup>103</sup> The practice of 'borrowing' and adapting can also be seen in the section on 'Histories' below.

<sup>99</sup> Cruso reproduced Du Praissac's *The Arte of Warre* (Cambridge, 1639) and wrote *Militarie Instructions for the Cavallrie* (Cambridge, 1632). ODNB: John Cruso.

<sup>100</sup> Humfrey Barwick, *A Breefe Discourse, Concerning the force and effect of all manual weapons of fire, and the disability of the Longe Bowe or Archery, in respect of others of greater force now in use* (London, 1592), p.4.

<sup>101</sup> Thomas Norton, *The Gunner Shewing The Whole Practice Of Artillery* (London, 1628). Francis Malthus, *A Treatise Of Artificial Fire-Works Both for Warres and Recreation* (London, 1629). Thomas Smith, *The Art of Gunnery* (London, 1620).

<sup>102</sup> Cockle, *Bibliography*, pp.7; 14; 79; 81 (Vox Militis); 88. Timothy R.W. Kubik, 'Is Machiavelli's Canon Spiked? Practical Reading in Military History', *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (Jan., 1997), p.15.

<sup>103</sup> Sir Clement Edmondes, *Observations, Upon The Five First Bookes Of Caesars Commentaries* (London, 1600).

The mathematician Leonard Digges' *Stratioricos* was edited and published by his son Thomas, also a mathematician, in 1571, and reprinted in 1590. Thomas Digges followed it with *England's Defence*, a treatise published to aid the repulse of the Armada in 1588, which was reprinted in 1680. Mathematics and its usefulness in war, particularly in the construction of defensive military fortifications, was another bi-product of the Renaissance and its classical antecedent. The architecture of fortifications was an important aspect of the mainly defensive war strategy of the period, as were logistic requirements of how to calculate volumes of supplies.<sup>104</sup> But not all mathematicians were soldiers, and Thomas' experience of war, obtained when he deployed to the Low Countries as muster-master to the Earl of Leicester, proved to be an unhappy and frustrating one as he discovered that textbook theories did not survive contact with his own forces let alone the enemy.<sup>105</sup> Paul Ive, on the other hand, was very much a soldier, and an educated one. He translated Fourquevaux's *Instructions for the warres* (London, 1589) out of French, and *The Practice of Fortification* (London, 1589) was 'his own work' and 'a product of experience and observation'.<sup>106</sup> Ive believed that 'the opinion of a Souldier who hath had experience of the defence, and offence, is to be preferred before the opinion of the Geometrician, or Mason, who are inexpert, of the practices that an enemy may put in execution'.<sup>107</sup> Ive devoted his career to military engineering, for which mathematics was an integral ingredient, but others were led by mathematics into military service rather than the other way round. Thomas Digges was a geometrician and cosmologist prior to military service, and the only works of the Flemish mathematician and military engineer Simon Stevin to be translated and printed in English contained no military content.<sup>108</sup>

There were evident lessons to be gleaned from the development of increased firepower through the adoption of disciplined tactics utilising gunpowder within European warfare. Despite this there were those who resisted modernisation, and there were some who supported

<sup>104</sup> J.R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe 1450-1620* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1998), pp.212-215.

<sup>105</sup> Leonard Digges, *Stratioricos* (London, 1579). Thomas Digges, *England's Defence. A Treatise concerning Invasion* (London, 1680). ODNB: Thomas Digges. Adams, 'Protestant Cause', p.33.

<sup>106</sup> Martin Biddle, 'Introduction' to Paul Ive, *The Practice of Fortification: London, 1589* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1972), pp. ii-iii. ODNB: Paul Ive.

<sup>107</sup> Ive, *Practice of Fortification*, pp.12-13.

<sup>108</sup> ODNB: Thomas Digges. Simon Stevin: *Disme: the art of tenths* (London, 1608), *The haven-finding art* (London, 1599). The only military work of Stevin in English, *The Art of Fortification*, was translated in 1604 and remained in manuscript form; W.H. Schukking, ed., *The Principal Work of Simon Stevin, Volume IV: The Art of War* (Amsterdam: C.V. Swets & Zeitlinger, 1964), p.34.

retention of the bow over, or at least alongside, firearms.<sup>109</sup> Sir John Smythe, in his *Certain Discourses* of 1590, urged the continued use of the bow, and this drew a strong response from the soldier Humfrey Barwick, in his *Breefe Discourse*, and Sir Roger Williams in his *A Briefe Discourse of Warre*, both of whom argued for archery to be acknowledged as obsolete and firearms accepted as the only effective modern weapons.<sup>110</sup> This issue is discussed in Chapter Four.

There were authors who were prepared to go beyond the single issue of musket over bow. Robert Barret tells us that 'the warres and weapons are now altered,' and that the English 'must accommodate our selves to the now used weapons, order, and time'.<sup>111</sup> Other treatises were produced during this late Elizabethan period, most notably by the soldiers William Garrard (posthumously), Giles Clayton and William Blandy.<sup>112</sup> Such works continued to be produced in the seventeenth century: the 'gentleman volunteer' Francis Markham's *Epistles* of the 1620s and Captain Henry Hexham's influential *Principles* published towards the end of the period but as a result of experience gained throughout it, as well as Robert Ward's *Animadversions*, are examples.<sup>113</sup>

### Reasons for publishing

Establishing the motivation behind writing and publishing an account is of great importance for several reasons: the prospect of pecuniary gain or of patronage potentially influenced the works themselves. Audiences may shape the form and content of a work. In fact, financial reward for writers rarely came as a direct consequence of printing. Even if the

<sup>109</sup> Paul Scannell, 'From Bow to Musket: The Development of the Early Modern Personal Weapon,' in *British Army Review*, No. 136, pp. 64-69.

<sup>110</sup> Sir John Smythe, *Certain Discourses, written by Sir John Smythe, Knight: Concerning the formes and effects of divers sorts of weapons, and other verie important matters Militarie, greatlie mistaken by divers of our men of warre in these dais; and chiefly, of the Mosquet, the Caliver and the Long-bow; As also, of the great sufficiency, excellencie, and wonderful effects of Archers: With many notable examples and other particularities, by him presented to the Nobilitie of this Realm, & published for the benefite of this his native Countrie of England* (London, 1590). ODNB: Sir John Smythe.

<sup>111</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, p.4.

<sup>112</sup> William Garrard, *The Arte of Warre*, ed. by Captaine Hichcock (London, 1591). Giles Clayton, *The Approved order of Martiall discipline with every particular Offycer his office and dutie: with many other stratagemes adioyning to the same* (London, 1591). William Blandy, *The Castle, or picture of policy* (London, 1581).

<sup>113</sup> Francis Markham, *Five Decades of Epistles of Warre* (London, 1622). Robert Ward, *Animadversions of Warre* (London, 1639).

book sold well and could be considered a success that would not result in greater reward for its author. Booksellers were not generous with remuneration, rather expecting (to their own advantage) that the subject matter served a greater cause than just financial gain for the author, one such bookseller commenting in 1624:

Most of the best Authors are not so penurious that they looke soe much to their gaine, as to the good they intend Religion or State. They are too Mercenary that write bookes for Money, and their covetousness makes their labours fruitles, and disesteemed.<sup>114</sup>

The dedication was more likely to effect payment in the form of a gift, in exchange for the book, and here the printed article with its single dedication was out-matched by the manuscript as each copy could be dedicated to a different patron. Cash was not necessarily the response to these pleas to dedicatees; other material goods or preferment could be the desired aim.<sup>115</sup> Dedications might establish or confirm a link with an important individual or group. Whoever the dedicatee was, he (and on occasion she) would have been of some influence, and the author could be seeking office or a pension, aiming for some political advantage or just looking to mark the work with the prestige of a well-known and respected figure.<sup>116</sup> It was also possible that the relationship between author and patron was close and that the latter bore the cost of publication.<sup>117</sup>

Whether close or not, soldier-authors frequently dedicated their work to a prominent and influential figure. Geoffrey Gates dedicated his work to Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, perhaps because of a perceived acute Protestantism in the earl as the zealous Gates commented 'how necessary the exercise of Armes is' in part because 'our forefathers...were given over to superstition and Idolatrie'.<sup>118</sup> Many patrons had military connections and, unsurprisingly, some dedicated their work to the Earl of Essex, the most martially inclined aristocrat, such as Thomas Garrard (regarding the work of his 'very neere kinseman' William) and Matthew Sutcliffe.<sup>119</sup> Thomas Churchyard dedicated a work to Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford,

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<sup>114</sup> Love, *Scribal Publication* p.58.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*, p.60.

<sup>116</sup> Simoni, 'Present for a Prince', p.51. See section on 'Patronage' in Introduction above.

<sup>117</sup> Cockle, *Bibliography*, p.13.

<sup>118</sup> Geoffrey Gates, *The Defence of Militarie Profession* (London, 1579).

<sup>119</sup> Garrard, *Arte of Warre*; Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of armes* (London, 1593), To the Reader.

because he had served under the earl's father decades previously.<sup>120</sup> Humfrey Barwick dedicated his *Breefe Discourse* to Henry Carey, a powerful Privy Councillor with military experience for whom Barwick could have worked in an unknown capacity at some stage.<sup>121</sup> Henry Hexham dedicated his account of the siege of Breda to Henry Rich having received that earl's 'gracious acceptance' of his previous publication, *The Principles of the Art Military*. Hexham dedicated his account of the siege of s'Hertogenbosch to the English Merchant Adventurers in Delft, giving an insight into his English connections in Holland.<sup>122</sup> Gyles Clayton dedicated his book and his sixteen years service in Ireland and the Low Countries to Queen Elizabeth. However, not all soldier-authors sought patronage for their works. Sir John Smythe, at odds with the modern art of war and increasingly alienated from the establishment, rather vaguely dedicated his controversial work on the retention of archery to 'the Nobilitie of the Realme of England'.<sup>123</sup> Captain Robert Markham boldly declined to name a patron for his elegy on his late commander Sir John Burgh, but preferred to declare it 'Unto all Souldiers, lac'd with noble skarres':

I will not Dedicat these weeping lines  
Unto a Laughing Lord of Patronage,  
That without Mourning habit richly shines  
In gold, nor will I send a Pilgrimage  
My sorrowes, brought a bed in this same Booke,  
To be protected by a Ladyes Looke.<sup>124</sup>

### Custom and rhetoric: understanding the works of soldiers

The methods that early modern soldiers used to collect and arrange their thoughts and the manner in which they presented their material is central to our understanding of their experience and knowledge. The use authors made of language requires some analysis, as

<sup>120</sup> Thomas Churchyard, *A True Discourse Historicall, of the Succeeding Governors in the Netherlands, and the Civill Warres there begun in the yeere 1565* (London, 1602).

<sup>121</sup> Barwick, *Breefe Discourse*. Barwick describes himself as 'one of the meanest of a great number that are and hath beene under your Lordships government', but he may be referring to Carey's appointment as 'Lord governour of Barwick'; pp.A2, A3.

<sup>122</sup> Henry Hexham, *A True And Briefe Relation Of The Famous Siege Of Breda* (Delft, 1637); *A Historicall Relation Of the Famous Siege of the Busse* (Delft, 1630).

<sup>123</sup> Smythe, *Certain Discourses*.

<sup>124</sup> Robert Markham, *The Description Of That Ever To Be Famed Knight, Sir John Burgh* (London, 1628).



some words and phrases have passed out of common usage or changed their meaning. False modesty was a custom of the age, and even the supremely confident Sir Francis Vere declared himself 'unworthy' to attend a council of war (yet not unworthy to disagree with his commander).<sup>125</sup> However not all the generalisations used by such writers can be passed off as literary convention. For instance, Monro reports the enemy was 'put all to the sword, except the Officers that were taken Prisoners'.<sup>126</sup> This is more than an empty phrase, as there is generally a clear distinction on whether the enemy were 'put to the sword', that is summarily executed; forced to 'take service', that is absorbed into the victor's ranks; or allowed to march away 'flags flying, bullet in mouth' at the completion of siege negotiations.<sup>127</sup> On the other hand, when authors speak of events they clearly had not witnessed, this may be considered the passing on of dramatised gossip. When Poyntz speaks of Saxe-Wiemar's soldiers in Regensburg 'reserving the Nunnes for their lust, and the fryars to abuse by dismembering them &c. and deflowering the Nunnes upon their Altars',<sup>128</sup> he is not relating a first-hand account, and he may be victim of the conditioning of the time – rumour was often more terrible and therefore more frightening than reality. According to Hexham, Prince Frederick-Henry fired 23,131 canon balls into Breda over a seven week period during the siege, after which it surrendered. Such an accurate number is a reflection of either a very efficient stores accounting system or, far more likely, Hexham's recourse to the classical method of quoting seemingly accurate figures that fictionally fill the blank of an unknown quantity; he could not know exactly how many balls were fired, but he wished to emphasise the point that it was a great deal.<sup>129</sup> Individuals adopted the conventions and methods of their time, often borrowed from a previous age as explained below, and a number of literary categories came off the presses. Contemporary writing fell in to one of several genres.

### War as art

Military writing had become increasingly popular, and a number of soldiers as well as armchair theorists went to press. The Dutchman Jacob de Gheyn produced his

<sup>125</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, pp.81, 85.

<sup>126</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.101.

<sup>127</sup> *OED*: Honour; 'honours of war' – privileges granted to a capitulating force, e.g., that of marching out with colours flying.

<sup>128</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.120.

<sup>129</sup> Hexham, *Siege of Breda*, *Articles of Composition*, p.16.

*Wapenhandelinge* in 1607, published in England as *The Exercise of Armes* in at least three editions in 1607/8. This book, which included 117 engravings showing the drill movements of soldiers handling muskets and pikes, proved an instant publishing success, being printed in French, German and Danish as well as English and its native Dutch. The initial success of the folio engraved editions of 1607 and 1608 was followed in 1609 and 1619 by the publication of smaller, cheaper quarto editions.<sup>130</sup> This is testament to the popularity of military manuals during this time, especially those reflecting the modern Dutch manner of warfare.<sup>131</sup>

A starting point for many who chose to publish on the subject of warfare, in terms of style and content, was the writing of Machiavelli. His *The Art of War* reflected not only his republican sympathies (which could be glossed over by the subjects of queens) but, more importantly, consistently recommended the classical Graeco-Roman model, which was a major feature of the Renaissance.<sup>132</sup> His constant referrals to the Romans as having 'the best armies that ever existed' and his belief that 'no activity among men today is easier to restore to its ancient ways than the military',<sup>133</sup> combined with his contemporary opinions, for instance his belief that the Swiss were the best modern force. This produced a work with a didactic style that influenced soldiers who could relate to its topics and attention to detail.<sup>134</sup> Not all soldiers were convinced, however: Humfrey Barwick noted Machiavelli's limited military experience and commented that 'Machiavel have set forth his whole knowledge...[but]...if he had been a soldier he would never have done'.<sup>135</sup>

Although Machiavelli died in 1527, the work was first published in English in 1560 and was widely read, not just in England but twenty-one editions in the sixteenth century including translations into Spanish (1536), French (1546) and German (1623) secured a

<sup>130</sup> Simoni, 'A Present for a Prince', pp.52; 55.

<sup>131</sup> 'Thus, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, manual drill was represented as a well-ordered pattern of constrained behavior in which the infantrymen were drilled to handle their arms, to enact commanded movements with precision by themselves and as part of a battalion, and to do so under the control of central institutions of government'; Harald Kleinschmidt, 'Using the Gun: Manual Drill and the Proliferation of Portable Firearms' *The Journal of Military History*, Vol.63, No. 3, (Jul., 1999), p.612.

<sup>132</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Art of War* (1521), trans. by Henry Neville (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2006 edition from a 1674 translation). Felix Gilbert, 'Machiavelli: The Renaissance of the Art of War', in Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p.21.

<sup>133</sup> Machiavelli, *Art of War*, pp.33, 164.

<sup>134</sup> Machiavelli was an intellectual, not a soldier, who according to one historian had 'contempt for the military vocation'; Maury D. Feld, *The Structure of Violence: Armed Forces as Social Systems* (Beverly Hills and London: Sage, 1977), p.184.

<sup>135</sup> Barwick, *Breefe Discourse*, p.30.

European market and thus it became a universal reference book.<sup>136</sup> It was presented as an amicable dialogue between friends. This was a common device, characterising as it did the works of Erasmus, More and Ascham for examples. It was also a feature of schoolboy education with which the soldier-authors would have been extremely familiar. It was adopted by Barret in his *Theorike*, by Hexham in *Tongue-Combat* and by Blandy and Gates in *The Castle*. Machiavelli's subject matter expert Fabrizio, a mercenary commander, is asked many questions on military topics and through his answers Machiavelli gives his views on mercenaries, weaponry, plunder and the order and quartering of an army. Some seventeenth-century writers shared his acceptance of the inevitability of war. Monro commented 'the world is but a perpetuall warre',<sup>137</sup> and Fabrizio's comment on loyalty and death ('for in what man ought the country look for greater loyalty than in the man who has to promise to die for her?')<sup>138</sup> dovetails entirely with Monro's view.<sup>139</sup>

Machiavelli's stress on the best soldiers not being mercenaries, such as the Romans and the Spartans from antiquity as well as the modern day Swiss, may seem to condemn the presence of Monro and other Britons in foreign armies. However, it is Machiavelli's use of the word mercenary that requires careful consideration: when he wrote, the Swiss were forging a name for themselves as the most effective mercenary soldiers, in stark contradiction of Machiavelli's view, but his city of Florence could not afford them.<sup>140</sup> Many of the soldiers about whom this thesis is concerned did not consider themselves as mercenary. This issue is explored further in later chapters.<sup>141</sup> Many early modern soldiers were volunteers and not career soldiers, and so could and did return to their professions at home after a campaign, as Machiavelli advocated in his support of the citizen soldier.

Fundamentally Machiavelli did not believe in 'progress' in the way it is understood today. He regarded the direction of human society as cyclical and the exemplar as Graeco-

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<sup>136</sup> Gilbert, 'Machiavelli', p.27. It also provided a backdrop to debates without being cited; see the chapter 'To fortify or not to fortify? Machiavelli's contribution to a Renaissance debate', in J.R Hale, *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon, 1983), p.196 and *passim*.

<sup>137</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, I, p.52. Although such belief was on insecure ground in the Stuart era; Robert Ward, in a dedication to his pacific Stuart king, speaks of 'this grim Monster (War)...picking the golden Locke of Tranquillity'; *Animadversions*, dedication to Charles I.

<sup>138</sup> Machiavelli, *Art of War*, p.2.

<sup>139</sup> See Chapter Two below.

<sup>140</sup> Michael Mallett, 'Mercenaries', in Maurice Keen, ed., *Medieval Warfare: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.228.

<sup>141</sup> See Chapter Two below for a definition.

Roman. Thus, in his view, modern society should return to that standard of excellence from the corrupt position it currently occupied. In this he reflected the essence of the Renaissance which permeated the whole of western Europe with its belief in rebirth and regeneration rather than the creation of novel methods and institutions. This would explain the curious ambivalence of some early modern soldier-authors towards the introduction of firearms in England, and the position of men such as Sir John Smythe in opposing change. Innovation was generally viewed with suspicion, as it potentially threatened the political, religious and economic status quo and could be seditious. Soldiers in the main ignored Machiavelli's negative comments on firearms and artillery, as they did Sir John Smythe, because as practical men they judged the effect gunpowder had on the enemy to be potentially greater than ancient methods.<sup>142</sup>

While Machiavelli's *The Art of War* was influential in the military sphere, it was his political writings that were widely read in England and elsewhere and won him notoriety.<sup>143</sup> This is reflected in some contemporary works of soldiers. Sir Roger Williams refers to Catherine de Medici's interference with the French king as 'his Machiavell mothers counsaile; who never cared what became of any estate or world to come...Considering her Machiavell humors, she was much to blame [for the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre]'.<sup>144</sup> The Walloon soldier De Bonours describes Vere's actions during the Ostend 'anti-parley' as 'Machiavellian'.<sup>145</sup>

Historical precedent was an obvious avenue down which to seek a standard in an age that paradoxically discouraged innovation but acknowledged the changing nature of society. As Christopher Hill commented: 'Men argued in terms of precedent because they could not accept that they were facing novel problems'.<sup>146</sup> All knowledge, it was maintained, came from God, giving any new idea dubious status. However, knowledge that came from the past

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<sup>142</sup> Peter Bondanella and Mark Musa, ed. and trans., *The Portable Machiavelli* (London: Penguin, 1979), pp. 26; 31; 480-3. See the discussion in this thesis on weapons and the impact of artillery in Chapter Four and also the argument on soldiers' motivation to defeat the enemy in Chapter Three.

<sup>143</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. and trans. by Peter Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984). The book 'became, along with Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, the intellectual property of every well-read European during the sixteenth century'; Bondanella and Musa, *The Portable Machiavelli*, p.17.

<sup>144</sup> Williams, *Actions*, pp.32/3.

<sup>145</sup> De Bonours, *Ostend*, p.175.

<sup>146</sup> Hill, *Century of Revolution*, p.52.

could be considered divinely sanctioned.<sup>147</sup> There are many examples in the military texts of this reverence towards antiquity. Monro uses excerpts from classical history to support many of his 'Observations', calling on 'the wise Ancients' to underline his comments with parallel lessons.<sup>148</sup> For instance, his comments on the negative effects on discipline when soldiers are under-employed are preceded by a quote from a prominent Roman:

Scipio said, we were most in danger when we wanted businesse, for while we want businesse, and have no foe to awe us, we are readie to drowne in the mudde of vice and sloathfulnesse. So our Regiment having laine six moneths in idlenesse and sloath, eating and drinking, and sometimes doing worse, for lack of employment in our Callings...<sup>149</sup>

Matthew Sutcliffe, an experienced soldier, used ancient precedent throughout his work, declaring: '...let us not disdaine to follow the examples of such great captaines, and wise men in reforming our present errours, and disorders according to the true and loyall practice of armes'.<sup>150</sup> This characteristic of the Renaissance period with its constant referral to the Graeco-Roman era as authoritative, the acceptance of the classical as exemplar through the military literature of the time, is consistent. Monro tells us of the action at Halle (Germany):

...we see his Majesty [Gustavus Adolphus] with clemency doth follow the example of the ancient Romans, who, of all victories, thought that victory best, which least was stained with bloud, having given quarters and service to three thousand Emperial Souldiers, without drawing one drop of bloud.<sup>151</sup>

Sir Roger Williams in his history, although with his focus very much on the tasks in hand, can nevertheless slip in a reference to Alexander (on mutiny: 'as Alexander did his Parmenio'), and his advice to military men despite its change of style makes one or two references to the classical period. He asks, for instance, 'What caused Caesar to overthrow Pompey?'<sup>152</sup> As this knowledge of classical precedent was so much a part of contemporary education, it is impossible to attribute this to Machiavelli's influence.

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<sup>147</sup> Donald A. Neill, 'Ancestral Voices: The Influence of the Ancients on the Military Thought of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 62, No. 3 (Jul., 1998), p.489.

<sup>148</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, I, p.19.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid*, I, p.46. Brockington comments: 'To validate his observations, Monro cited more than 25 classical and medieval sources...', 'Monro: Professional Soldier', p.233.

<sup>150</sup> Sutcliffe, *Lawes of Armes*, p.B2.

<sup>151</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.74: Monro also contradicts this; see Chapter Three.

<sup>152</sup> Williams, *Actions*, p.102. Sir Roger Williams, *A Brieve Discourse of Warre* (London, 1590), pp.4; 6.

### Caesar's *Commentaries*

It was an international convention to compare good soldiers to Julius Caesar. For example Henri IV wrote to Elizabeth I of Sir Roger Williams: 'que les vostres montrèrent tant de valeur et de courage, qu'il n'est possible de mieulx faire qu'ils feirent, particulièrement le dict Sir Roger, qui fait acte d'un vray Cesar'.<sup>153</sup> Following this Graeco-Roman trope, the memoirs of Sir Francis Vere were styled as 'Commentaries' after those of Julius Caesar, though it is possible that they are closer to the French soldier Monluc, whose autobiographical account of his military career appeared in French in 1592 although he, too, was writing in this genre.<sup>154</sup> Vere himself, with an almost indecent lack of preamble when compared with other writers of his era, focuses entirely on the military engagements and his actions central to them without distraction as, indeed, did Caesar.<sup>155</sup> Vere's editor half a century after the events, William Dillingham, brought in Clement Edmondes, who made a comparison between Vere's actions and those of Caesar,<sup>156</sup> and of whom Dillingham said 'found reason to borrow the best lineaments of his [Caesar's] piece out of the actions of Sir Francis Vere'. Edmondes discussed the combination of the 'opportunity of time' with the 'convenience of place' and 'an orderly disposition of the means', the three of which were considered and used to good effect by Caesar against the Gauls and in like manner by Vere against the Spanish at Nieuwpoort (where Edmondes had served with Vere). As Caesar 'was indowed by nature with an excellent promptitude and aptnesse to take opportunitie in any businesse', so Vere at Nieuwpoort 'well knowing how much it imported the businesse of that day to hold a place of such gain and advantage...so all that were present were eye-witnesses both to the truth of his conjecture, and the soundnesse of his judgement'.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> 'Your people showed so much valor and courage, that it is impossible to do better, particularly Sir Roger, who acted like a true Caesar'; Evans, *Works*, p.lxii.

<sup>154</sup> *The Commentaries of Messire Blaize de Montluc, Mareschal of France*, trans. by Charles Cotton (London, 1674); '...it may be that he [Vere] intended an autobiography modelled on the Commentaries of the distinguished French soldier Blaise de Montluc, of which Vere would certainly been aware [in manuscript], rather than military reflections based on the example of Caesar's Commentaries.' *ODNB*: s.n. Vere. Monluc states: 'The greatest Captain that ever liv'd was Cesar, and he has led me the way, having writ his own Commentaries', p.2.

<sup>155</sup> Lindsay G.H. Hall, "'Ratio' and 'Romanitus' in the 'Bellum Gallicum'", in Kathryn Welch and Anton Powell, eds, *Julius Caesar as Artful Reporter: The War Commentaries as Political Instruments* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2009), p.17.

<sup>156</sup> Edmondes' *Observations* were very popular and followed two previous translations by Tiptoft and Golding (see Appendix 2). Henry J. Webb, 'The English Translations of Caesar's Commentaries in the Sixteenth Century', *Philological Quarterly*, 28 (1949), pp.490-5.

<sup>157</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, pp.112-117.

So how close are Vere's 'Commentaries' to Caesar's? How similar the generals' positions, how comparable the style? The opening lines after the title page in the Dillingham work proclaim:

What Mars performed Mercurie doth tell,  
None e're but Cesar fought and wrote so well.  
Why may not then his Book this title carry,  
The second part of Cesar's Commentary.

This would indicate a favourable comparison not only with the Roman general's leadership but also with Caesar's writing ability. Caesar was regarded as an elegant stylist, at pains to produce fine writing, and although he was presenting a positive view of himself to a specific audience back home it was in the form of a clear, apparently factual military report written in the third person typical of the period.<sup>158</sup> Vere was also presenting himself as he wished to be seen, although in the first person, and possibly exaggerating his personal influence on battles and over the Dutch high command regarding strategic decision making for the sake of his reputation and to counter the enmity that had built up with some soldiers that ranked above him socially and who considered his attitude towards them as offensive; but with Vere there was no political motive. Caesar was a far more political figure, with a great deal more at stake outside the purely military arena. Arguably Caesar was more of a politician than a general, and his consistent championing of the common people to the extent of promoting plebeian bravery over upper-class cowardice was in contrast to Vere's notable lack of comment regarding his soldiers and use of his connection to the Earl of Oxford.<sup>159</sup> Caesar is keen to share his success with his soldiers, whereas Vere rarely remarks on his soldiers' abilities or commitment; they are the recipients of his orders, and it is those orders that are the foundation of victory.<sup>160</sup> Caesar was very particular over which individuals he named in his accounts, and again this is a reflection of the heightened political drama in Rome of which he was very much a part.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>158</sup> Jane F. Gardner, 'Introduction' to Julius Caesar, *The Civil War*, (London: Penguin, 1967), trans. by Jane F. Gardner, p.29; see also pp.26; 27; 28. Welch and Powell, *Julius Caesar as Artful Reporter*, Introduction, pp.x-xi; Hall, "'Ratio" and "Romanitus"', p.15.

<sup>159</sup> T.P. Wiseman, 'The Publication of *De Bello Gallico*', p.3, and Adrian Goldsworthy, "'Instinctive Genius"; The depiction of Caesar the general', in *Julius Caesar as Artful Reporter*, p.194.

<sup>160</sup> Hall, "'Ratio" and "Romanitus"', p.12; Vere does describe his soldiers as 'bold', but then censures them for their 'greediness of spoil', Dillingham, *Commentaries*, pp. 38; 40. Sir Roger Williams notes this characteristic of Caesar; *Discourse*, p.A3; he was nevertheless on good terms with Vere.

<sup>161</sup> Kathryn Welch, 'Caesar and his officers', p.87.

He was not beyond taking the credit for the actions of others.<sup>162</sup> Likewise Vere appears to go it alone in the Netherlands, but the accounts of the expeditions, particularly the Island Voyage, contain several details of colleagues. Sir John Wingfield he describes as a 'right valiant Knight', and Sir Samuel Bagnall he singles out 'for his especiall merit and valour'. He is careful not to overtly criticise Essex, emphasising his defence of the earl to the Queen, and of Raleigh's navigational error for which that admiral was court-martialled Vere makes the open comment: 'whether of set purpose, or by mistake I leave others to judge'.<sup>163</sup> Given that he had fallen out with both men, he would appear to be stressing his impartiality towards them. Magnanimity is not regarded as Vere's strong point, although it is feasible that his claims as the architect of so many victories were, from his own perspective, honest reflections of events and there are no denials in contemporary texts of his ability as a military leader. Vere is regarded as having a high opinion of himself. David Trim suggests that even Dillingham, through his comment that Horace Vere was too modest to write an account of his own actions, implies that he believed Francis to be immodest. However this fails to take into account the two previous occasions in the same preface where Dillingham referred to Vere's modesty.<sup>164</sup> Caesar was also accused of vainglory, but for him the stakes were much higher thus the necessity to impress his personal greatness on the Roman public.<sup>165</sup> A major difference between the two was status. Caesar was generalissimo, second to no-one in his theatre of war and answerable only to the Senate in Rome, to which he gave little credence, and to public opinion, to which he gave a great deal.<sup>166</sup> Vere was a subordinate commander, attempting to force his point of view on higher commanders, some with whom he had strained relations. Vere had to separate the victories, which he presented as having engineered, from the less successful enterprises, which he wished to show that others had allowed to fail. Compare his accounts of the successful action at Nieuwpoort:

On the other side, I knew that without further succours their numbers would weary and eat us up in the end. I therefore at once sent to the Frison-footmen of the vanguard to advance, and to the Count Maurice to tell him how things stood, and to desire him to

<sup>162</sup> Barbara Levick, 'The Veneti revisited', in *Julius Caesar as Artful Reporter*, p.64. ODNB: Vere.

<sup>163</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, pp.36; 41; 52; 67.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, 'Epistle to the Reader'; ODNB.

<sup>165</sup> Hall, "'Ratio" and "Romanitus"', p.17; Welch, 'Caesar and his officers', p.91, Goldsworthy, 'Instinctive Genius', p.193.

<sup>166</sup> Goldsworthy, 'Instinctive Genius', p.200.



send me part of the horse and battle; and because I saw the enemy presse & gain upon our men more and more, I sent again messenger upon messenger....,<sup>167</sup>

set against his comments regarding the much-criticized Island Voyage:

I must confesse, in this point I may be ignorant of some particulars, because things were not done, as they were wont, by Council, or, if they were, it was but of some few, to which I was not called. But in all likelihood there was willful mistaking in some to hinder us of that rich prey, which God had sent as it were into our mouths.<sup>168</sup>

Neither general was particularly religious, with Caesar seemingly disinterested in religious ritual or omen and Vere indifferent to the extent that he makes no comment at all on religion.<sup>169</sup> Caesar shows a high level of respect for the Gallic enemy, commenting that both sides drew courage through 'love of honour and fear of disgrace', whereas Vere, possibly due to the ethnic melting pots that formed all European armies, does not describe his enemy's characteristics.<sup>170</sup> In sum, there are similarities between the *Commentaries*, but Caesar was a man writing for an immediate political impact, bending accounts to suit his purpose in the manner of the propagandist, utilizing the written word to reveal 'not the truth but perhaps the art' of the author. Vere, on the other hand, perhaps wrote ostensibly for the benefit of young officers, his accounts a didactic offering to instruct others, but whatever his main reason his memoirs would concurrently cement his reputation amongst the martial community.<sup>171</sup> If Vere wrote for the benefit of others then that would move him closer to Monluc, who stated his instructional intent: 'the Captains who shall take the pains to read my Life, will therein meet with Passages, that may be useful to them in the like Occasions'.<sup>172</sup> *Commentaries* as a Renaissance literary genre are shown in Cotton's poem in the preface to the Monluc work which highlights the influence of Caesar as comparator and Rome as military exemplar:

<sup>167</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.100.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid, p.54.

<sup>169</sup> Hall, "'Ratio' and 'Romanitus'", pp.19; 21.

<sup>170</sup> Louis Rawlings, 'Caesar's portrayal of Gauls as warriors', in *Julius Caesar as Artful Reporter*, p.179. Vere's lack of comment contrasts with Sir Roger Williams, who had great respect for the Spanish, with whom he served for four years: *Actions*, p.82; *Discourse*, p.10-12, 29.

<sup>171</sup> Hall, "'Ratio' and 'Romanitus'", p.17; Welch, 'Caesar and his officers', p.97; Levick, 'The Veneti revisited', pp.62; 63; 65.

<sup>172</sup> Monluc, *Commentaries*, p.1.

Thus Caesar in his Tent at night;  
 The Actions of the day did write,  
 And viewing what h'ad done before,  
 Emulous of himself, yet more,  
 And greater things perform'd, until  
 His arm had overdone his will,  
 So as to make him almost fit  
 To doubt the truth of what he writ.  
 Yet what he did, and writ, though more,  
 Than ere was done, or writ before;  
 Montluc by thee, and thee alone,  
 Are parallel'd, if not outdone,  
 And France in Ages yet to come,  
 Shall shew as great a man as Rome.<sup>173</sup>

### Travel writing and diarists

The Elizabethan age saw Englishmen travel far afield in search of trade and adventure, and some of the writings these men produced were and remain of interest. Julia Schleck has recently reviewed Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations of the English Nation* (London, 1589),<sup>174</sup> and in so doing has reminded us that 'evaluation is always culturally determined'.<sup>175</sup> She contends that the work should not be taken at face value but was a published account (several years after the events) of letters written by factors to manipulate the reader, initially the Muscovy Company in London. The 'facts' of the voyage are less important than, and are only constructs in support of, the 'moral lesson'.<sup>176</sup> Contemporaries viewed such travel writing with equal scepticism, one commenting 'that Travellers may lie by authority'.<sup>177</sup> Schleck advises caution when viewing the detail of Hakluyt's, and similar, travel accounts.

Travellers to Europe from Britain can be grouped into several categories. Clergymen, dissenting Protestants as well as Catholics, merchants and their factors, tradesmen and their wives; such people ventured to the Low Countries along with the many soldiers. Gentlemen and members of the nobility, however, tended to avoid that area for their grand tour, preferring

<sup>173</sup> Cotton, 'On the brave Mareschal de Montluc, and his Commentaries writ by his own hand', Montluc, *Commentaries*, Preface.

<sup>174</sup> Julia Schleck, "'Plain Broad Narratives of Substantial Facts': Credibility, Narrative and Hakluyt's 'Principle Navigations'", *Renaissance Quarterly*, No. 59, (2006), pp.768-794.

<sup>175</sup> Schleck, 'Hakluyt', p.771.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid*, p.782.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid*, p.789.

the language, sophistication and high culture of France and Italy. There were exceptions, like William Lithgow, who came to observe the sieges, or youngsters seeking an opportunity to display their valour in the wars. It was fashionable throughout the period for gentlemen to keep diaries; indeed it was encouraged as part of the education process, as was the visiting of European cities or the sending of young men to stay with diplomats abroad for extended periods. During the Elizabethan era the government kept close tabs on the movement of people, presumably concerned over their susceptibility to proselytising Catholics or keen to capitalise on their availability to carry out tasks on behalf of the state, but with the death of the Earl of Salisbury this official obsession with private travel fades.<sup>178</sup> The diaries tended to follow a certain format, a mundane stereotype, describing the towns and cities the individuals passed through, what they purchased, with whom they stayed (often other Englishmen unless it was to learn a language).

At times the diaries of gentlemen become the accounts of soldiers. Thomas Raymond served a short time in the army in the Low Countries, and others, such as John Evelyn (who served an entire week as a volunteer with the States General) and Sir Edward Herbert, who learned his manners in Paris prior to deploying to the Cleves-Jülich crisis, recount their military adventures as part of their grand tour.<sup>179</sup> Likewise William Lithgow, who gave an account of the siege of Breda from his own experience with Frederick-Henry's army although he was in fact passing through the area as a traveller rather than in the Low Countries with the specific intent of fighting.<sup>180</sup>

### Autobiography

This genre was, typically for the Renaissance, originally a product of Italy and progressed throughout Europe at a varied pace. British autobiographies in the period covered by this thesis, however, were still only just emerging, although some writers had included

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<sup>178</sup> For the introduction of passports into Europe see Valentin Groebner, *Who are you? Identification, Deception and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Mark Kyburz (Cambridge, Mass: Zone, 2007).

<sup>179</sup> John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), Revised Edition, pp.1-13; 171-198. Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford University Press, 1967), Abridged Edition, p.313-317.

<sup>180</sup> William Lithgow, *A True and Experimental Discourse upon the beginning, proceeding and Victorious event of this last siege Of Breda* (London, 1637). Hugh Dunthorne, 'Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries, 1572-1648', in Grant G. Simpson, ed., *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124-1994* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), p.108.

themselves among the characters of their fictional works.<sup>181</sup> Thomas Whythorne, a musician, wrote what is alleged to be the first autobiography in 1576 for an unknown friend, and it was not published until 1961.<sup>182</sup> Half a century after Whythorne wrote, the colourful Sir Kenelm Digby disguised his autobiography as a work of fiction, but has been accused of altering some facts to suit his purpose.<sup>183</sup> Both Whythorne and Digby had conducted a grand tour, so their autobiographical accounts would no doubt have drawn on the notes they made during their travels, thus the genres of travel writing, diary and autobiography are here intrinsically linked. In the case of Digby, who also embarked on a naval expedition on the Elizabethan privateering model, military memoirs are added. A sense of societal change and a concept of history, manifest in the attitudes to classical civilisation noted above, were required for the initiation of autobiography. This combined with the demise of the monastic scribes who since the Reformation no longer recorded events in their chronicles. Unlike many of their medieval ancestors, the early modern emphasis on education meant that gentlemen increasingly were able to write, and were encouraged and inclined to do so. They often included notes on the extended family of which they were part and its genealogy, and were inspired by the turbulent political epoch in which they felt involved. That said, it was nevertheless frowned upon to publish such works, except in the form of military memoirs that were considered acceptable. The role of the individual was regarded as subservient to that of the state, the 'common weal,' and only fighting for the 'cause' could justify the immodest flaunting of individual experience over the national collective. An autobiography is, by definition, a history of an individual and therefore was an affront to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sensibilities, but much of the peripheral information may be of interest to us, not least his own opinion of what and whom he encountered. If an autobiography becomes in part a wider history of the author's era, a history, the genre discussed below, may recall events in which the author was involved, and both Sir Roger Williams' and Thomas Churchyard's accounts of the war in the Low Countries sees a merging of the two; a history with autobiographical sections.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> Such as Thomas More in *Utopia* and Edmund Spenser as Colin Clout. Edward Berry, *The Making of Sir Philip Sidney* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p.3.

<sup>182</sup> ODNB: Thomas Whythorne.

<sup>183</sup> *Loose Fantasies*, unpublished. Digby may have 'retouched the true picture' regarding his wife's reputation; ODNB: Sir Kenelm Digby.

<sup>184</sup> Paul Delaney, *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), pp.6-23; 118-21; 136-141.

## History

The writing of histories also had historical precedent, through ancients such as Tacitus, Livy and Thucydides. Edward Grimeston edited 'out of the best authors that have written of that subject' a history of the Netherlands,<sup>185</sup> which although it begins long before our period nevertheless gives an in depth account of the war up to 1608. It includes a graphic description of the siege of Leyden, strategic comment on the Spanish decision to lay siege to Ostend, the use of pigeon post and propaganda.<sup>186</sup> However Grimeston was a scholar not a military man. The soldier Thomas Churchyard explains why he took Meteren's Latin history of the Netherlands for translation, and in so doing articulates in a neat paragraph the motivation behind not only his reason for writing but also hints at the reason men went to war:

I found so great profunditie in the man and matter, chieflie because hee exactlie (without adulation) wrote of martiall affaires, and exployts done by mightie Governours and valiant souldiers: that not onlie attained honour in the field (some of them honourable borne) but also wanne everlasting fame by their prowesse and service. A while considering the consequences and worth thereof, I thought God would be offended, my countrie dishonoured, and wortheie men should be in time to come forgotten and discouraged: whereon I took in hand to revive dead men and their actions (*for fames sake which all men shoot at*) that time past and time present should be so remembered...

Churchyard combined a translator's skill with his own experience and knowledge to underwrite the work as an authentic representation of his trade:

So in my great age [he was nearly eighty] I clapped on a youthful corage ...and stoutly stept into the translation of Meteranus workes of *Historia Belgica*: but often falling sick, and like to passe from the world, I called unto me one Richard Robinson, ...one whom I might commannd [sic] and keepe a long while for this purpose, and who tooke great paines (I being sick) in the translation, and in writing the other Collections of this booke: but my studie, knowledge, experience, and eye witness for all or most actions in this book, perfected everie point and peece of matter pertaining to the truth of al here in this volume printed...<sup>187</sup>

<sup>185</sup> On the siege of Sluys, Grimeston 'quotes Williams' entire account verbatim'; Evans, *Works*, p.cxi.

<sup>186</sup> Jean François Le Petit, *A generall historie of the Netherlands*, ed. by Edward Grimeston (London, 1608). Quote from title page; Leyden p.569; Ostend p.1263; pigeon post p.567; propaganda p.1278. There was another edition in 1609, and in 1627 a 'Newly renewed, corrected' edition with 'Continuance from the yeare 1608 till the yeare of our Lord 1617 by William Crosse'.

<sup>187</sup> Churchyard, *True Discourse*, The Epistle Dedicatorie; my italics.

Williams' *Actions* did not appear in print during his lifetime. It combines elements of autobiography within a history which, like Meteren's history to Churchyard, the author felt intimate with. The work is presented as a history, as it is not until page 56 that Williams arrives in person, and he does not start to relate events in the first person until page 69, with the arrival of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's regiment at Flushing. Contrasting entirely with Vere, Williams at times changes from the third to the first person, leaving the reader unsure if Williams was actually present during the action or recounting a secondary source.<sup>188</sup> More than twenty years since the death of Williams, and having had the manuscript for 'a long time', Sir Peter Manwood gives three reasons for deciding to publish:

First to incite other men of Armes to imitate in like sort their great Master Julius Caesar...Secondly, to prevent least such worthy paines should either perish, or hereafter be set forth by others as their own: a thing too much practiced by some, not of meanest note. Lastly, to make this a meane of drawing the residue into light, which happily sleepeth in the custodie of some other man.<sup>189</sup>

What view of 'history' did these writers have or develop? Sir John Haywood, in a preface to *Actions*, states that all histories require 'Order, Poyse and Truth', and warns 'yet for divers causes it hapneth that in many, one of these doth faile'. Haywood, who appears less of the Renaissance man in his low opinion of ancient works (denigrating the geography and truth of Tacitus) but nevertheless shows familiarity with them, gives a short yet harsh critique of past histories: 'Many living in these Artlesse ages, have stuffed their Stories with most senselesse fictions; nothing better then country womens tales'. He criticises those who 'busie themselves much in those things which the popular multitude doe applaud', and those who are 'strongly biasse in their affections...omitting or defacing the solide truth'. He warns against '...those who upon hate, feare, or favour, either to some persons, or to their native country, or to the religion which they professe, or for some other partiall respect, doe write Panegyrickes or Invectives, rather than histories'. Of Williams he says: 'Amongst those few who have written with knowledge, judgement, and sincerity, the Author of this Historie is to be ranged...Touching the Historie it selfe, it is faithfull and free'.<sup>190</sup> Haywood at least believed that a true account was the essence of history.

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<sup>188</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.xvi, n2.

<sup>189</sup> Williams, *Actions*, The Epistle Dedicatory.

<sup>190</sup> Williams, *Actions*, 'To The Reader'. Haywood seems to have been the editor: 'I have restored it so neere as I could, both to the stile and meaning of the Authour'.

### Christian soldier

Some soldiers were keen to emphasise a zealous adherence to their faith and produced prayer based works in the 'Christian Soldier' genre. There was a great deal of literature of this type produced during the British Civil Wars, but it was evident before that period. Robert Monro published, at the end of his *Expedition*, 'The Christian Souldier Going On Service His Meditations'. In this work Monro merges actual warfare against an enemy with the allegory of spiritual combat against evil. This allegorical approach had been previously presented by writers such as Erasmus in his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (A Handbook of the Christian Soldier) of 1533. Erasmus described the book itself as 'a kind of dagger' and in writing it had followed Biblical tradition.<sup>191</sup> St. Paul expanded on the metaphors of Isaiah:

Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil...Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having the breastplate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; and above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.<sup>192</sup>

Let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light.<sup>193</sup>

Monro uses the language of metaphorical combat when addressing God in his 'Meditations':

...thy coming unto Judgment is terrible, thy roaring is like a Lyon, and thy Sword a consuming fire, no place can hide man from thy presence, thou seest the heart and the Reines, no secret is hid from thee, and who can escape from thy vengeance? None, except they repent. Lord therefore save me from that bitter death, and give me grace to repent, that I may bewaile my misery, before I depart.

The battle, Monro emphasises, is God's and they are all His soldiers:

Lord therefore make us contemne and slight all things, for the love of Christ; altering from vice to virtue, mortifying our lusts, that we may become Souldiers of Christ, loving nothing so much as God and the salvation of our soule.<sup>194</sup>

<sup>191</sup> Timothy Hampton, *Writing from History: The Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature* (Cornell University Press, 1990), p.48. David L. Jeffrey, *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), p.56.

<sup>192</sup> Ephesians 6:11; 14-17.

<sup>193</sup> Romans 13:12.

<sup>194</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, p.218, III; V.

He goes on to combine physical and spiritual combat:

When thy seest thy Camerade making ready, and fix against his enemies, girding his loynes, that he may fight the more valiantly, then thinke with thy self, that is thy duty, to put on the Spirituall Armour, and to gird thy loynes against Satan, the world and the flesh, that thou mayst fight the spirituall combat, bridling thy riotous appetite, bringing under the flesh, despising the worlds glory, be at no time altogether idle, but ever doing somewhat for the publique welfare, discharging the duties of thy calling, beseeching God for Christ thy Captaines sake, to pronounce thee happy, in the day of thy appearance.<sup>195</sup>

Monro believed that 'it is God that giveth victorie',<sup>196</sup> and so it followed that the spiritual effort of the soldiers should proceed in tandem with physical, military preparedness.

### Editing and translations

It can be difficult to ascertain what influence the publisher, or some other editor, may have had on a work. The stated author may not have written it at all. Evans explains that *Newes from Sir Roger Williams* was not written by Sir Roger, but bore his name in order to sell the pamphlet; it was simply a marketing ploy.<sup>197</sup> Robert Ward claimed to have taken from 'the most approved Authors, ancient and modern, either in Greeke, Latine, Italian, French, Spanish, Dutch or English'.<sup>198</sup> What parts of his voluminous work can be attributed to whom, regarding authorship or translation, is not clear, despite marginal notes attributing historical examples to, for example, Plutarch, Sir Walter Raleigh and Stowe.<sup>199</sup> Who contributed to his extensive sections on fortification and artillery is not stated, but his list of equipment in the section on artillery is too similar to Francis Markham's wording to be coincidental.<sup>200</sup> For works published after the death of the author the publisher or editor decided upon what appeared in a printed work, and this may or may not be an accurate portrayal of the author's design. It is possible that Williams' *Actions* was re-written by Sir John Haywood although, given that editors stress on the truth of the author's account (see above) this would seem

<sup>195</sup> Ibid, p.219, VIII.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid, p.220, XII.

<sup>197</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.154.

<sup>198</sup> Ward, *Animadversions*, frontispiece.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid pp.9,14,31.

<sup>200</sup> Compare Ward, *ibid*, p.108, with Francis Markham, *Epistles*, p.119. Ward published twelve years after Markham's death, and seventeen years following the publication of *Epistles*.



unlikely.<sup>201</sup> William Garrard's *The Arte of Warre* was edited by Captain Robert Hichcock, who undertook 'to correct the faultes of the Booke'.<sup>202</sup> To what extent Hichcock amended Garrard's text is not known, but the work contains significant paragraphs of other English books such as Digges' *Stratioricos*, Styward's *Pathwaie* and Ive's translation of Fourquevaux.<sup>203</sup> Dillingham, it has been noted, presented Vere as a heroic figure, augmenting his subject's own words with others that supported the case. Works that have been translated have also gone through an editing process. For instance Charles Cotton, the translator of Monluc's *Commentaries*, having stated that it is better to have 'an ill Translation than none at all', continued to explain the inherent difficulties of translation:

Such a one in plain truth is this; not that I am willing to confess I have much missed the sense of the Author; but though elegant enough those times, 'tis a knotty piece in it self, and though wrapt up in very good sense, yet writ by the rough hand of a Soldier, and a rough one, and stuff up with old musty Proverbs (the mode of wit it seems at that time) and such as we have not sometimes Proverbs of our own to render them by, and to English a Proverb without a Proverb, is to make that unpleasant, and almost unintelligible in one Language, that is quaint and elegant in another; to repair which I have in some places been necessitated almost to create Proverbs, or at least to render his after a Proverbial way, to make them a little like the Original.<sup>204</sup>

At times works could be taken completely out of the time in which they were written, and potentially the context too, in order to draw a modern parallel or emphasise a contemporary point. This was done consistently with classical works, discussed above, with Shakespeare's plays and with the publication in 1651 of Fulke Greville's until then unpublished *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, written about the Elizabethan age by a man who died in 1628 but which was seen as endorsing the concept of service to the state by the government of the day, thus showing the development of republican propaganda.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Robert B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.75n94.

<sup>202</sup> Garrard, *Arte of Warre*, To the reader.

<sup>203</sup> Webb, *Military Science*, p.49.

<sup>204</sup> Monluc, *Commentaries*, The Translator's Preface to the Reader.

<sup>205</sup> Manning, *Swordsmen*, p.65; McCrea, 'Whose Life Is It, Anyway?', in Mayer and Woods, p.316.

## Conclusion

Soldier-authors produced works both in the style they inherited and in the new genre of the times. These military writers, unprecedented until this period,<sup>206</sup> combined foreign experience with the foreign printed works which they adapted; hence they became instrumental in creating the new 'art of war' in Britain.<sup>207</sup> It has been shown that Henry Hexham, William Blandy and Robert Barret used dialogue in the style of Machiavelli, and that Monluc and Sir Francis Vere wrote in the ancient manner of Caesar's *Commentaries*. Machiavelli, of course, had turned the focus of military discourse to the ancients, and the use of Caesar was itself a reflection of the Renaissance belief in Graeco-Roman classical precedent. Even modernists such as Sir Roger Williams were prone to use classical precedent as authority on occasion (although Humfrey Barwick exceptionally did not). Educated full-time soldiers knew the intellectual theory behind modern war while producing printed practical guidance, thus Paul Ive was able to translate Fourquevaux and write his own treatise on fortification. The burgeoning genre of autobiography/history as produced by Williams and Thomas Churchyard in the late sixteenth century was continued in the early and mid-seventeenth century by Henry Hexham, Robert Monro and, later, Sir James Turner. Such works provided the reading public with an eyewitness source for the information on warfare that they sought. Additionally, another new sub-genre of published military material came in the form of textbooks; manuals that sought to bring knowledge of military organisation and use of equipment (the new 'drill') to the landed classes, and there are examples of these in Appendix 1.<sup>208</sup> Thomas Proctor produced what has been referred to as the first technical treatise on warfare in English,<sup>209</sup> but Proctor was not a soldier and drew his information from scattered sources. Others, notably Thomas Digges, emphasised the theoretical aspects of warfare, which they supported with only limited if any practical experience. The soldier Thomas Styward produced one work that went through three editions such was its popularity, as it came at a time of growing concern over the Spanish threat and would have educated those who were responsible through their social status for commanding the local militia. Robert Barret and Gyles Clayton were soldiers who also wrote for the guidance of those ignorant of

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<sup>206</sup> There had been military treatises in manuscript, such as those produced by Thomas Audley, Robert Hare and Henry Barrett, but not in response to the current crises, not in print, not in this number and not in a position to espouse the 'modern' art of war. Eltis, *Military Revolution*, p.57.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid, p.100.

<sup>208</sup> See, for example, Sir Clement Edmondes, *The Maner of Our Moderne Training* (London, 1600).

<sup>209</sup> Cockle, *Bibliography*, p.38.

war and yet who held military obligations come the day of reckoning with the enemy, which even in 1598 'seemeth not far off'.<sup>210</sup> The debate on the nature of warfare, that is the retention of traditional methods and equipment versus a developing, modern view of warfare, was published through the traditionalist Sir John Smythe and the response his (supressed) work drew from modernists Sir Roger Williams and Humfrey Barwick. Innovations were not unheard of, with William Neade suggesting the combination of the bow and the pike as a new hybrid weapon.<sup>211</sup> The creation of regular printed news instalments added a sense of excitement and drama as the unfolding of events was reported if not as soon as they occurred certainly shortly afterwards.

The influence of foreign writers is manifest through the works translated into English, listed at Appendix 2. Additionally, many English authors were influenced by foreign works in the production of their own material, such as Barnaby Rich (Machiavelli), Robert Norton (Uffano), Robert Ward (several unstated), Robert Barret (also unstated),<sup>212</sup> William Garrard (Fourquevaux) and the English gunners who drew from Tartaglia without reference.<sup>213</sup> Nevertheless, frequently they were able to edit the material of others with their own combat experience to guide them.

There were some notable changes from the 1570s through to the 1630s. De Gheyn's work of 1607, which showed in picture format the posture of soldiers when handling the unwieldy musket, was the first of its kind and Hexham used this method in his work of 1637. News, it has previously been shown, became a printed commodity widely circulated in the seventeenth century from its sporadic start in the last decades of the sixteenth. From the fascination with the siege of Ostend, which produced several works in English as well as those translated from other languages,<sup>214</sup> to the *corantos* of the Thirty Years' War,<sup>215</sup> news became distinct from historical accounts due to the speed with which it was circulated. Christian soldier prayers and advice were introduced in the later period as seen through the works of Hexham and Monro.

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<sup>210</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, dedication to the Earl of Pembroke.

<sup>211</sup> An idea supported by nobody but the King. William Neade, *The Double-armed Man* (London, 1625).

<sup>212</sup> Cockle, *Bibliography*, p.63.

<sup>213</sup> Henry J. Webb, 'The Science of Gunnery in Elizabethan England', *Isis*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (May, 1954), p.16.

<sup>214</sup> Appendix 1, Serials 28; 29; 30; 86. Appendix 2, Serials 45; 48.

<sup>215</sup> See Appendix 4.

Soldier-authors added to the increasingly popular genre of printed military books. The appendices list the titles that appeared up until 1642, and show the wide variety of material within that genre. Historians, government officials, mathematicians and militiamen all added to the narratives and manuals produced by professional soldiers, but the experience of war, discussed at length in Chapter Four, belongs to soldiers alone. What drove them to fight, and to continue fighting in arduous conditions, is the focus of Chapter Three. Before these core analyses are made, a breakdown of what sort of individual populated the ranks of English/Welsh and Scots contingents must be undertaken. Chapter Two will therefore categorise the men who were enlisted, commissioned or forced into armies to fight away from home, and challenge and re-appraise the nomenclature used by historians to date.

## Chapter Two

### The categories of soldiers

#### Introduction

This chapter analyses the efforts of historians, who continue to struggle with the terminology that best explains the categories into which soldiers should be grouped, and suggests that a possible solution lies in a close reading of soldiers' own accounts. It discusses the problems facing the historian who seeks to reconcile modern concepts and terminologies with early-modern usage. It examines sixteenth- and seventeenth-century phraseology, the language of the soldier as witnessed through his printed works, in order to clearly specify into which category soldiers should be placed and how that category should be described. Tudor and early Stuart society was highly stratified and, in order to understand the relationship between soldiers, it is vital to categorise the military authors, and soldiers generally, into the correct early modern grouping. Military units abroad functioned to an extent as a society separated from that in England and Scotland. In many ways this military society mimicked its parent but it also saw the promotion of individuals into positions of authority that did not necessarily mirror their place in civilian society. This occurred because enduring and unbroken European warfare produced experienced soldiers who over time had learned their trade, were able to command men in difficult circumstances, and were therefore promoted on merit. They experienced frequent clashes with socially high-ranking 'amateurs', short-term visitors to the war zone who found that their position in civilian society did not directly correlate with their authority and influence in the army. Also 'gentlemen' of lower social rank often occupied an indistinct position within the chain of command, usually for limited duration, that could cause friction depending on the individual, his commander, and the relationship between the two. Visibility of these relationships, and with it a more accurate classification of soldiers, is readily accessible through the printed works of early modern soldiers.

#### Professional soldiers: an early modern definition

The debate on what constituted an early modern profession has been discussed above in the Introduction. In the context of this debate, it is pertinent to this thesis to consider which individuals, or body of men, considered themselves 'professional', which

'mercenary', and which 'amateur' and what they meant by each of these terms.<sup>1</sup> What factors did they consider constituted a 'professional' soldier? How did he define himself, and in what way did he distance himself from a mercenary?<sup>2</sup>

'Mercenary' in its modern-day form conjures up images of ex-Regular Army soldiers, usually white, leading uneducated and over-armed locals, mainly black, in borderless areas of poverty-stricken but mineral rich Africa. They risk their lives, perhaps, but they have no cause other than personal gain, and are generally regarded with disdain by the peace-loving majority in the country from which they are drawn who see any future wars to be fought by regular, professional armies, governed by civilians and only deployed after a due political process. Thus the 'mercenary' and 'professional' soldier are categorised separately in the modern mind-set.<sup>3</sup> There has been a clouding of these terms by historians when applied to early-modern soldiers. Sir John Hale blurs 'hired professional mercenaries' with 'professional freelance', where the former may not in fact have been mercenaries at all but the word 'freelance' in the latter would indicate 'mercenary'. He also plays down the fact that non-Spanish soldiers in the Army of Flanders were for the most part subjects of the king, a status that would indicate neither the king nor the soldiers themselves would have used the label 'mercenary'.<sup>4</sup>

It is worthwhile to consider at this stage the development of medieval mercenaries in order to better understand how they evolved into the early modern era, and to take a glimpse at the 'particular pre-history' of the early modern profession of arms, as Ian Roy phrased it.<sup>5</sup> Historians tend to move between discussion of military leadership to military issues in general without pausing to clarify the difference. They are interested in those individuals who led groups of soldiers, be they in companies, regiments or armies, and

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Hattaway argued that through a reading of 'the Shakespearean canon...at the end of the sixteenth century the age of the 'soldier' [chivalric] had passed and the age of the 'martialist' [professional] had arrived'; 'Blood is their argument: men of war and soldiers in Shakespeare and others', in Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts, eds., *Religion, culture and society in early modern Britain: essays in honour of Patrick Collinson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.84.

<sup>2</sup> 'Profession: a vocation, a calling, esp. one requiring advance knowledge or training...any occupation as a means of earning a living', attributed to late Middle English. 'Mercenary: a person who receives payment for his or her services; *spec.* a professional soldier serving a foreign power', attributed to early 16<sup>th</sup> century. *OED*.

<sup>3</sup> Few would regard the modern British Army as a mercenary force, although the status of the Ghurkhas has often generated debate. It is also true that some present day governments, such as Zimbabwe and South Africa, come perilously close to categorising their citizens serving in the British Army, as the result of a Commonwealth recruiting drive, as mercenaries.

<sup>4</sup> J.R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1998), pp.64; 70; 153.

<sup>5</sup> Ian Roy, 'The Profession of Arms', in Wilfrid Prest, ed., *The Professions in early modern England* (Beckenham: Croom Helm, 1987), p.181.

switch to discussion of the soldiers themselves leaving the edges blurred. In regard to the status of the military as a profession, Ian Roy studied 'the position and progress of the *officers* of the armed services during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', even though the term 'officer' also requires clarification as discussed below.<sup>6</sup> Ian Roy has stated from the outset that his discussion on whether or not the military should be considered a 'profession' is focussed on '*leadership in war*'.<sup>7</sup> In the discussions of some other historians, the subject of their focus is not always entirely clear, as will be seen below. Rosemary O'Day has looked at the development of certain professions 'out of a philosophy of life' driven by the sixteenth-century Renaissance and Reformation. She contends that people entering the learned professions 'saw their work in terms of vocation, service and commitment rather than simply earning a living'.<sup>8</sup> While her discussion does not include military leadership, it is clear from the printed works of soldiers that they too regarded themselves as fighting for the 'commonweal'.<sup>9</sup> The military leaders who committed their views to print (and they were all leaders, albeit at varying positions within the military hierarchy) also regarded themselves as belonging to a distinct grouping with what Ian Roy and others term an *esprit de corps*.<sup>10</sup>

Michael Mallett, in his analysis of 1999, separated mercenaries from the paid soldiery: 'It is the concept of fighting for profit, together with the gradual emergence of 'foreignness', which distinguishes the true mercenary...from the ordinary paid soldier'.<sup>11</sup> Mallett contends that the creation of mercenary groups was as a result of 'the growing sophistication of warfare' as the deployment of aristocratic cavalry came to be checked by mass infantry, the use of which could result in the expansion of an army beyond the capability of feudalism, and could storm cities and conduct sieges whereas the cavalry could not. Although 'service for pay' can be traced back to the mid eleventh century, it was the thirteenth century that witnessed the development of the infantry arm and by the fourteenth century soldiers were generally paid but separated from the category of

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p.181. My italics.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p.184. My italics.

<sup>8</sup> Rosemary O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England: Servants of the Commonweal* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), p.2.

<sup>9</sup> For instance: Robert Monro, *Monro, His Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment (called Mac-Keyes Regiment) levied in August 1626* (London, 1637), I, p.60; II, p.62; II, p.111; Sir John Ogle in William Dillingham, *The Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere* (Cambridge, 1657), p.147/159; Giles Clayton, *The Approoved order of Martiall discipline* (London, 1591), Epistle Dedicatory; Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Practice, Proceedings, And Lawes of armes* (London, 1593), p.2.

<sup>10</sup> Roy, 'Profession of Arms', p.187.

<sup>11</sup> Michael Mallett, 'Mercenaries', in Maurice Keen, ed., *Medieval Warfare: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.207.

'mercenary', which was a term reserved for 'the adventurer' and foreign 'specialist'.<sup>12</sup> Loyalty is an inevitable factor in any discussion on mercenaries, and it was a difficult issue before the early-modern religious 'cause' provided a moral justification for serving a foreigner. Machiavelli may have condemned the use of foreign soldiers but,<sup>13</sup> while on occasion foreign troops failed to engage the enemy through lack of pay,<sup>14</sup> there were nevertheless many examples of foreigners who, like Sir John Hawkwood in Florence, are notable for their long service to one employer. Many proved themselves reliable in the face of the enemy, sometimes more so than homegrown troops. As will be seen, these observations are relevant to the discussion on both the categorisation of soldiers and their motivation in the period.<sup>15</sup>

A clear distinction between the paid professional and the mercenary is discernible in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature, as will be seen through the printed works of Sir Roger Williams, Francis Markham, Robert Monro and Henry Hexham. Traditionally, mercenaries sold their services to the highest bidder and as such were unreliable as their loyalty could not be guaranteed:

'Tis hard to trust a mercenary worth,  
He's moulded new at every alteration;  
Who does sell life, does sell his reputation.<sup>16</sup>

Their use could undermine a prince's justification for involvement in a conflict as it could be conjectured (by rhetoricians such as Machiavelli) that the employment of foreign soldiers, rather than the enlistment of subjects, indicated a lack of genuine 'cause', thus princes would 'Hire Mercenary Swizers and Souldiers to maintaine all unjust quarrels even with Monarches'.<sup>17</sup> Princes themselves could sell their and their men's military services:

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<sup>12</sup> Mallett, 'Mercenaries', pp.208-15. A defining characteristic of the French Civil Wars, the Eighty Years' War and the Thirty Years' War was the ability for foreigners to justify their involvement on ideological grounds.

<sup>13</sup> See Chapter One above.

<sup>14</sup> For a brief synopsis of such occasions in the early modern period, see David J. B. Trim, 'Ideology, Greed, and Social Discontent in Early Modern Europe: Mercenaries and Mutinies in the Rebellious Netherlands, 1568-1609', in Jane Hathaway, ed., *Rebellion, Repression, Reinvention: Mutiny in Comparative Perspective* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger, 2001).

<sup>15</sup> Mallett, 'Mercenaries', pp.219-229.

<sup>16</sup> Charles Aleyne, *The battailes of Crescy and Poictiers under the fortunes and valour of King Edward the third of that name, and his sonne Edward Prince of Wales, named the Black* (London, 1633). The word 'mercenary' could be used in a wider context than the purely military, for instance by Ben Jonson: 'I humbly crave there be no credit given to this man's mercenary tongue', *Volpone*, Act 4, Scene 5; *The Alchemist and Other Plays*, ed. by Gordon Campbell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.84. See also the use of 'mercenary' to describe authors in the section 'Reasons for publishing' in Chapter One above.

<sup>17</sup> John Davies, *Humours heav'n on earth with the civile warres of death and fortune* (London, 1609).



Stout John of Heinault to King Philip's side  
 His forces brings, although so neere ally'd  
 To Englands King (as Uncle to the Queene)  
 And had by Edward highly honour'd beene.  
 He now had chang'd his faith, and for the gold  
 Of France, his mercenary valour sold.<sup>18</sup>

It can be seen that involvement in others' wars could be difficult to justify prior to the convenience of the religious cause, notwithstanding Michael Mallett's convincing argument. Post-Reformation soldiers, however, were able to articulate a difference between the professional and the mercenary foreigner. Sir Roger Williams' career shows how carefully the term 'mercenary' should be defined in this period. Despite changing sides and notwithstanding his 'greedy desires to travaile to see strange warres', Williams still had no good comment to make regarding mercenaries and certainly did not consider himself one, saying 'those that serves many, serves nobody,' and 'as for Mercenaries, we know it by good experience, commonly they follow the best purse'.<sup>19</sup> His attitude towards mercenaries is best summed-up through his comments regarding his experience of Germans:

...those flegmatique people will second nobody without money before hand, & assurance to be payd monethly, especially being gaged to serve the weakest partie. When they come into the field, they will endure neither hardnes or wants without their due guilt. When they have joined battaile, they have often cryed guilt, hurled their weapons from them, and suffered their enemies to cut them to pieces. I doe perswade myself all Potentates and estates hyre them, onely fearing their enemies would have them. Without doubt, if one side hath them, and not the other, likely it is master of the field; they come in such multitudes of Horsemen, as no Christian Nation besides is able to furnish. Else perswade your self 500 hundred [sic] of either English, Scottish, Burgundians, Wallones, French, Italians, Albaneses, Hungarians, Poles, or Spanish, is worth 1500 Amaines.<sup>20</sup>

Williams' emphasis is on the mercenary's demand for payment above duty, which has to be balanced and placed in context. Williams believed soldiers required and deserved to be paid (he openly admitted he needed work as a soldier in order to earn money to live), but he accepted that this would not be a regular income and that there would be times when a soldier would have to fight without it. He despised those whose priority was money above

<sup>18</sup> Thomas May, *The victorious reigne of King Edward the Third written in seven bookes*, The third Booke (London, 1635).

<sup>19</sup> Sir Roger Williams, *A Briefe Discourse of Warre* (London, 1590), p.54; Sir Roger Williams, *The Actions of the Low Countries* (London, 1618), pp.31; 127.

<sup>20</sup> Williams, *Actions*, p.11.

all else, the profit factor stressed by Michael Mallett above, and believed that a Frenchman would sooner lose a war than a day's profiteering. He commented: 'I durst not trust the most of them further than I see them'.<sup>21</sup> He had experienced many hardships brought about through lack of pay, and when necessary had written to the Privy Council in despair, so he was well aware of the impact of lack of funds, but to him money was necessary in order to survive, not to grow wealthy on.<sup>22</sup> To this Welsh soldier the gulf between professional and mercenary soldier was far wider than that between Protestant and Catholic.

Without question, a mercenary was generally regarded with disdain. However David Trim, despite clarifying and separating out those English and Welsh soldiers who 'demonstrated clear-cut commitment' and volunteered to fight abroad when not compelled to do so by their government, nevertheless decided upon 'mercenary' as the nomenclature to describe them collectively and individually.<sup>23</sup> Trim states that 'modern and early-modern definitional criteria differ; modern definitions are loaded with modern preconceptions and must be deconstructed...current definitions are also difficult to apply in practical terms', and yet curiously from this concludes 'I do not offer a prescriptive definition of what constitutes a mercenary'. His use of the term is at odds with early-modern usage, as he quotes Francis Markham's denial of the term (Markham commented that 'voluntary Gentlemen have beene more diligent...then any mercenary Souldier whatsoever') and concludes from this that 'they neither thought of themselves, nor were thought of by contemporaries, as mercenaries'.<sup>24</sup> Trim has defined the subject of his thesis clearly enough, but has elected to use his own definitions to describe the soldiers about whom he writes. His 'key distinction' between 'the volunteer' and 'the mercenary' as respectively 'an avocation' and 'a profession' is only true of some of the soldiers and, notably, not Francis Markham. Indeed, in his study of the definition of the term 'mercenary', Trim has confused the terms as used by Markham and Williams. Indeed the whole tenor of Trim's argument is that many of the soldiers he has decided to term 'mercenary' were not mercenary at all, by early modern or modern criteria, which makes his choice of the term somewhat incongruous. An individual's grounds for fighting

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<sup>21</sup> Williams, *Actions*, pp.63; 127. J.X. Evans, ed., *The Works of Sir Roger Williams* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p.xliv.

<sup>22</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.xx.

<sup>23</sup> David J.B. Trim, 'Fighting "Jacob's Wars": The Employment of English and Welsh Mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562-1610', PhD thesis, University of London, 2002, pp.30; 74.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, p.59.

dictated his status as a mercenary or otherwise, and he, and his contemporaries, would have been well aware of the difference. The status and definition of a 'gentleman volunteer' is discussed below in the section 'Rank and Status'.

Soldiers of whatever hue required payment, and because a soldier was paid this did not categorise him automatically as a mercenary. As Mallett states, this had been the case for at least two centuries.<sup>25</sup> One characteristic of a 'profession' is that no salary was received for services rendered, instead the professional accepted a fee. A fee-receiving soldier, though, would be the one senior commander who coordinated the force, the 'military enterpriser' discussed in depth by Fritz Redlich.<sup>26</sup> Such men were paid an agreed lump sum calculated to cover all of their costs. Examples are the Scot William Moncrieff, who gathered a force of his countrymen at the request of the city of Danzig in 1577, and the many Thirty Years' War commanders like the Englishman Sir Horace Vere and the Welshman Sir Charles Morgan. If the fee proved to be insufficient, they had to cover the excess themselves.<sup>27</sup> Members of the force were paid out of the commander's, that is the enterpriser's, fee. The exceptions to this were the amateur 'gentlemen' (discussed below), who financed their own deployments, and no doubt because of this could find themselves at odds with their chain of command.

Add to the opinion of Sir Roger Williams noted above the comment by Henry Hexham on the English contingent under pay of the Dutch: 'who though they take pay, as their owne, for meere necessitie (for who goeth to warfarre at his owne charge?) yet fight freely, not with respect to money, but love and the Cause and the Countrey'.<sup>28</sup> This early modern understanding of financial arrangements, and the definition of terms derived from it, has been confused by modern historians. David Trim believes: 'The key factor defining a mercenary was that he was paid, whether by another prince or state, or his own',<sup>29</sup> but this is correct in neither a modern nor an early modern scenario. Sir John Hale's opinion regarding pay sees the use of 'mercenary' justified when applied to soldiers recruited by a contractor:

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<sup>25</sup> Mallett, 'Mercenaries', p.215.

<sup>26</sup> Fritz Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser and his Workforce: A Study in European Economic and Social History*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1964-5).

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, pp.68, 199, 254.

<sup>28</sup> Henry Hexham, *A Tongue-Combat, lately happening betweene two English Souldiers in the Tilt-boat at Gravesend, the one going to serve the King of Spaine, the other to serve the States General of the United Provinces* (London, 1623), p.104.

<sup>29</sup> Trim, 'Fighting "Jacob's Wars"', p.78.

Except for the gentlemen volunteers, because all soldiers fought for pay, it was not the receipt of a wage that made a man a 'mercenary', or indifference to the faith or cause he served in arms, but the size of the unit that comprised him...and his dependence not on a political authority but on a contractor who had negotiated his own bargain with government.<sup>30</sup>

This is also an insufficient definition. Monro for one would have disagreed with it because although Lord Reay was his enterpriser, in that he recruited him and paid his wages at least initially, he was also his regimental commander who deployed and fought alongside him for the 'cause'. When Monro himself returned to Scotland to bolster his regiment's depleted ranks he believed he was recruiting 'for the further advancement of the good cause', not for his profit or the profit of his regimental 'owner'.<sup>31</sup> Most British soldiers of the early modern period fought at least for the promise of pay. Few gave their services for free, although some volunteers did and senior soldiers experienced substantial financial loss. The Trim definition of 'mercenary' would cover the majority of British soldiers serving in Europe prior to the British Civil Wars, and although there were those civilians who disdainfully labelled all 'professional' soldiers as 'mercenaries' and contributed to the grim reputation of military men,<sup>32</sup> in the main a difference between the two terms is maintained. Set against the fighting-for-profit definition sits ancient 'chivalry,' discussed in Chapter Four. This ethos continued to hold an influential position in the mind-set of the gentry. Visiting amateurs, or those given command through their social rank rather than their experience or suitability, may well have diluted the mounting effort to increase military efficiency through standardisation and professionalism in order to produce cost-effective military success in support of foreign policy. But the professionals of the era still held true to an ancient honour code; adherence to the code was not purely the bedrock unique to gentlemen amateurs. The 'nobility' of the military was a notion that still underpinned the profession:

Those that in quiet states do sing of warre,  
Or write instructions for the Martiall crue,  
Must never think t'escape the envious jarre,  
Of those, who wealth, not honour still pursue.  
For they do feare least souldiers growing strong,  
Commaund the pelfe which they have gathered long.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Hale, *War and Society*, p.146.

<sup>31</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, Dedication to Elector Palatine.

<sup>32</sup> Sir John Smythe had little regard for those who fought in the Netherlands, referring to 'English, French and other mercenaries' being the 'kind of men of warre those disordred warres of the Lowe Countries have bred and brought forth.' Sir John Smythe, *Certain Discourses, Concerning the formes and effects of divers sorts of weapons* (London, 1590), Proëme Dedicatorie.

<sup>33</sup> Robert Barret, *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (London, 1598), before p.1.

Certainly in command appointments, from part-time generals like the Earl of Leicester through to the company captains, individuals of high social rank continued 'in pursuit of virtue and honour as well as booty',<sup>34</sup> amateurs replacing or subordinating more capable officers because of their higher social position. 'What corrupted the discipline of the Netherlands?' asked Sir Roger Williams, providing the answer 'chiefly placing their ignorant cousins and favorites to command'.<sup>35</sup> There were sufficient full-time soldiers, though, particularly after having gained experience in the first few years of the Eighty Years' War and the civil wars in France, to hold the force together through professional leadership.

David Trim has discussed the relationship between professionalism and chivalry at length, suggesting that there are certain traits, or 'markers', that enable modern professionalism to be discerned. These markers are:

1. a discrete occupational identity;<sup>36</sup>
2. formal hierarchy;
3. permanence;
4. a formal pay system;
5. a distinctive expertise and means of education therein;
6. efficiency in execution of expertise; and
7. a distinctive self-conceptualization.<sup>37</sup>

The difficulty with such neat categorisations is that they have been articulated in an age where such criteria are standard for military service, but applied to an age in which no such standardisation existed. It is plausible to argue, in relation to the seven markers, that in the early modern period soldiers were easily identifiable; they all sat within a formal pyramidal hierarchy; the wars lasted decades and so did armies; there existed a formal pay system in all armies; skills were required to operate weapons and therefore training was required; there was a drive for increased efficiency in the reforms of leaders such as

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<sup>34</sup> Robert B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.5.

<sup>35</sup> Williams, *Discourse*, p.7.

<sup>36</sup> Hale discusses the 'notion of the soldiery as constituting a separate element within society', *War and Society*, p.127.

<sup>37</sup> D.J.B. Trim, ed., *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p.6.

Maurice and Gustavus and all soldiers identified with each other. However, it is equally plausible to argue against such findings. It could be stated that soldiers were sometimes indistinguishable from sailors, particularly senior officers who crossed between the titles of admiral and general with apparent ease,<sup>38</sup> while some activities in the areas of intelligence, medical practitioners, engineers including pioneers,<sup>39</sup> and the varied trade groups that would now fall loosely within the categories of logistics, all hovered on the periphery of 'soldiering' in contemporary parlance.<sup>40</sup> The formal hierarchy may have existed at company and regimental level, although the 'gentlemen adventurers' (see below) threw that simple chain of command askew, and at higher levels of command personality, nationality, religion, personal fealty and identification of the ultimate paymaster could detrimentally distort the strategic aims.<sup>41</sup> There were no standing armies of any significant size, and soldiers faced the prospect of disbandment despite the continuance of war.<sup>42</sup> Excepting the Dutch (by the 1590s), pay systems consistently collapsed leaving soldiers destitute and reliant on plunder through spoiling the towns and countryside. Often soldiers deployed having had little or no training,<sup>43</sup> although it was required: six days for pike, sixty for firearms according to one soldier.<sup>44</sup> Many factors combined to reduce efficiency despite the efforts of reforming leaders,<sup>45</sup> and individuals served either for short-term

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<sup>38</sup> During the Cadiz expedition of 1596, Sir Francis Vere became soldier-turned-sailor and was 'much excited and interested in a conflict the nature of which was quite new to him, "having till that time been a stranger to actions at sea."' Clements R. Markham, *The Fighting Veres* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1888), p.266. In Brittany, 'a substantial force of sailors served as infantry as well', John S.Nolan, *Sir John Norreys and the Elizabethan Military World* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997), p.216.

<sup>39</sup> See, for instance, Chapter Four below, section on pioneers.

<sup>40</sup> Both the Spanish and the Dutch used coal miners from Liège to assist their engineering effort, while in Britain during the civil wars English and Scots colliers adapted to military mining. Christopher Duffy, *Siege Warfare* (London & New York: Routledge, 1979), pp. 64; 71; 147.

<sup>41</sup> This is particularly true in the case of the Leicester expedition, where the strategic aims of the Englishman and those of the States of Holland proved irreconcilable; F.G. Oosterhoff, *Leicester and the Netherlands 1586-1587* (Utrecht: H&S, 1988), p.190.

<sup>42</sup> This caused soldiers to look elsewhere and slide towards accusations of 'mercenary', for example Sir Roger Williams was forced to join the Spanish, his erstwhile enemy, through lack of options; Williams, *Actions*, p.127. Many individuals would have been enlisted for specific expeditions and disbanded when no longer needed, particularly in England for Cadiz and the Island Voyage, and later the campaigns of Mansfeld and the Isle of Rhé. 'The great war...brought constancy of war, but not constancy of warfare. Frequent alternation between recruitment, reformation, reduction and dissolution of regiments was common practice in all European armies during the Thirty Years' War...' Bernhard R. Kroener, "The Soldiers Are Very Poor, Bare, Naked, Exhausted": The Living Conditions And Organisational Structure Of Military Society During The Thirty Years' War,' in Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling, eds., *1648. War and Peace in Europe* (Münster/Osnabrück Conference, 1998), p.285. See also the disbandment of Imperial units throughout the Thirty Years' War in Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), Table 4, p.397.

<sup>43</sup> 'Training', as distinct from 'musters', can be traced in England to 1573, but ironically only for the militia, not for those deploying overseas. Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p.13.

<sup>44</sup> Humfrey Barwick, *A Briefe Discourse, Concerning the force and effect of all manuell weapons of fire* (London, 1592), p.24.

<sup>45</sup> For instance the dilution of the well-trained, experienced and fiercely loyal Swedish/Finnish force that originally landed in Pomerania with thousands of local soldiers of varying quality and allegiance.

periods before moving on to other vocations (Thomas Raymond), for life (Sir Francis Vere; Sir Roger Williams) or for other indefinite periods (Henry Rich, Earl of Holland; the young Thomas Fairfax). This led to a range of experience and commitment that would produce men with differing levels of military knowledge. How long would an individual have to serve until he was considered 'professional'? There is a question as to whether or not he was a professional at all: 'As a profession – unlike law or the church – [the military] did not meet modern criteria; no academies, no diplomas, no initiatory and exclusive ceremonies such as ordination'.<sup>46</sup> The counter to this: '...military society nevertheless exhibited enough special characteristics to be considered a separate "order" comparable to the clergy'.<sup>47</sup> Simon Adams introduces the sub-category 'semi-professional', which he does not fully explain but which presumably relates to those with some military experience but not full-time soldiers.<sup>48</sup> Redlich, concerned chiefly with the economics of early modern warfare and mainly in Germany, saw three types of military enterpriser: he that was tied to home and country and never switched sides; he that discarded natural loyalties and fought, perhaps treasonably, for another prince, even an enemy; and those 'unsteady men' who changed sides repeatedly.<sup>49</sup> Redlich grouped the soldiery, the 'labour force', into two categories of mercenary: he who returned home to his community (perhaps to face the consequences of his enlistment as the practice was illegal if unauthorised) and those 'uprooted individuals, belonging to roving folk' who had no home.<sup>50</sup>

What was the nature of military apprenticeship? How long was a military apprenticeship? The answer to this would be dependent upon the experience and character of each individual soldier; how intense the fighting had been during his term of service; how suited he was to his vocation; how quickly he adapted. The point here is that there can be no firm qualification criteria applied in the absence of formal training standards and validation. As Francis Markham put it: '...the private Souldier who hath served in the Warres both a Prentice and a Journey-man, will yield more solide and substantiall reasons for any undertaking, then many more glorious outsides, whose traffique with the Warres

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<sup>46</sup> Barbara Donagan, 'Halcyon Days and the Literature of War: England's Military Education before 1642', *Past and Present*, No. 147 (May, 1995), pp.65-100.

<sup>47</sup> André Corvisier, *Armies and Society in Europe, 1494-1789*, trans. Abigail T. Siddal (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), p.129

<sup>48</sup> S.L. Adams, 'The Protestant Cause: Religious Alliance with the west European Calvinist Communities as a Political Issue in England, 1585-1630', unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1973, p.62.

<sup>49</sup> Redlich, *Military Enterpriser*, p.112.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, pp.115/7.

hath been more pleasant and easie...'<sup>51</sup> Another observer commented: 'some men gain more experience in two years than others in ten'.<sup>52</sup> Whether an individual was a professional or a mercenary, fighting for honour or just financial reward, and whether or not his position changed during his service; these are, in the context of this thesis where modern criteria and definitions have no place, ultimately matters for him and the judgment of his contemporaries. They had their opinions:

...having so few men of experience in these dayes, wee see that every one having served but a yeere or two, it is a great matter. Nay, if he but crosse the Seas, and make hys abode but one month, he is accounted a Souldiour. But for my part, I have served sixteene yeeres in Ireland, and in the Low Countries, and have seene many peeces of service in both places, and yet I dare not account my selfe a Souldiour. For the name of a Souldiour is most honourable, and those that beare the name or title thereof, shoulde be men of understanding and knowledge, and well experienced in warre, & Martiall discipline.<sup>53</sup>

The age of a soldier could be anything from a teenage page to a geriatric general. Sir Francis Vere was in his forties when he retired and died within a few years, so perhaps he was old for the period's average. William Garrard had advised that 'a Soldier is generally to be chosen betwixt 18 and 46 yeares',<sup>54</sup> while Barret advised selection 'from the age of eightene yeares unto thirtie yeares'.<sup>55</sup> Vere was nevertheless much younger than some other commanders; his brother Horace retired at 67,<sup>56</sup> Tilly was 72 when he was killed in combat,<sup>57</sup> Sir William Brog served in the Netherlands for fifty years,<sup>58</sup> and the remarkable Mondragon served the Spanish Army of Flanders in the field as a nonagenarian.<sup>59</sup> At one stage the maximum age of recruitment for soldiers serving the Spanish monarchy reached 70.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Francis Markham, *Five Decades Of Epistles Of Warre* (London, 1622), p.163.

<sup>52</sup> Edward Bowles, *Manifest Truths, or An inversion of truths manifest* (London, 1646), p.53.

<sup>53</sup> Clayton, *Approoved Order of Martial Discipline*, Epistle to the Reader.

<sup>54</sup> William Garrard, *The Arte of Warre* (London: 1591), p.2.

<sup>55</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, p.33.

<sup>56</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, henceforward ODNB: Sir Horace Vere.

<sup>57</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.117.

<sup>58</sup> Hugh Dunthorne, 'Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries', in Grant G. Simpson, ed., *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124-1994* (Ease Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), p.110.

<sup>59</sup> C.R. Markham, *Fighting Veres*, pp. 186; 215n.

<sup>60</sup> Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Second Edition, 2004), p.39. Parker also gives 'over sixteen and under forty' as the rule of thumb but quotes no source for this, and states the average age of the soldier as twenty-four; Geoffrey Parker, 'The Soldier', in Rosario Villari, ed., *Baroque Personae* (Chicago University Press, 1995), pp.33-4.



## Rank and status

The only recorded military actions are those of the gentry and the nobility, individuals who were acutely aware of their position in society. The focus of this thesis is the published works of those individuals. The line of argument is that more can be gleaned from these sources to shed light on the world in which they operated than has been hitherto accepted. In medieval times, recorded battle casualty figures often only included men of gentry status and above, so the total number of dead and wounded can only be guessed through a rough calculation of the ratio of peasants to men-at-arms.<sup>61</sup> While by the early modern period for the most part all casualties were reported, nevertheless the accounts were written by, for and about the 'officer' class. Feats of arms and acts of bravery by common soldiers are noticeably absent, and those singled out for praise as well as the named casualties are invariably leaders of at least the rank of sergeant, killed or wounded heroically leading their men.<sup>62</sup>

The common man had little hope of economic advancement, and many of the poorest were to be found in the train of an army, the 'baggage people' as Francis Markham termed them, and at the very bottom of the pile were the 'Horse Boyes', of whom 'scarce one lives to boast he is as old as the horse he keepeth'.<sup>63</sup> There was a limited meritocracy that could see talented individuals rise above their status at birth; Barnaby Rich believed that '...every ordinary Souldier that hath served seaven years without reproch, ought to be accounted a Gentleman'.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, the gulf that lay between the educated minority and the masses should not be underestimated. The majority was not held in esteem, 'so dul & senseles is the common sort of this nation', commented one Elizabethan soldier.<sup>65</sup> Monro seeks the assistance of Plato when describing 'the rascall multitude'. The people, according to Monro's version,

are ungrateful, cruell, barbarous, envious, impudent, being composed of a Masse of fooles, naughty, deboist, and desperate: for all that is spoken by the wise, displeases the people that are incensed. And Baleus...writes of Pope John the twenty third being asked what thing was farthest from truth, he answered, it was the

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<sup>61</sup> Marilyn Livingstone and Morgan Witzel, *The Road to Crécy – The English Invasion of France 1346* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005), pp.315; 333. Anne Curry, *Agincourt: A New History* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), Appendix C.

<sup>62</sup> There is a rare reference to a corporal, one William Winter, who is described as 'a tall souldier' who 'sent out a very good watch', Thomas Churchyard, *A True Discourse Historicall, of the Succeeding Governors in the Netherlands, and the Civill Warres there begun in the yeere 1565* (London, 1602), p.46.

<sup>63</sup> Francis Markham, *Epistles*, p.95.

<sup>64</sup> Quoted in Thomas M. Cranfill and Dorothy Hart Bruce, *Barnaby Rich: A Short Biography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1953), p.14n5.

<sup>65</sup> Geffrey Gates, *The Defence of Military Profession* (London, 1579), p.55.

vulgar opinion, for all things they praise merit blame, what they think is but vanity; what they say is but lies; they condemne the good, and approve the evil, and magnifie but infamie...<sup>66</sup>

Monro advises that those 'who would do all things to please the multitude' and 'agree with the common sort' face the 'fury and rashnesse of the people'. Quoting Plutarch, Monro believed that 'one man could not be master and servant of the people'.<sup>67</sup> He believed a king was 'above the law', and that class divisions should be maintained. Of Denmark, whose king he served, he comments:

This Kingdome is also praise-worthy, for the purity of their Gentry, being as ancient and noble, as any other Kingdome, and can bragge of a purer and cleerer bloud of Gentility, than many Nations can: for they never ally or enter into marriage with any inferiour to themselves, be they never so rich, if they be Burgars or Plebeians, they never marry with them; and if one of their daughters will, through love, miscarry in her affection, to marry a Citizen, they will not thereafter doe so much as to honour her with their company, but on the contrary, shee loseth both her portion and honour, not suffering her to carry the armes of her familie.<sup>68</sup>

There is evidence in the accounts, however, that soldiers were looked after and guarded against injustice. Perhaps the bond of nationhood was sometimes stronger than class:

A Duch captaine, having out of a mad humour mutilated a souldier of my Captaines company of one finger. The souldier complaining to me, I made my Lieutenant-colonell acquainted with the matter, who sent to the Captaine to know his reason; The Captaine, not repenting of the wrong done, but rather bragging he would second the first, with a greater: he coming through my Quarters, I being exercising the company, the Sergeant overtakes him, and almost kill'd him, who made no defence, neither pressed ever to be repaired of his wrongs.<sup>69</sup>

Sir Francis Vere believed in the importance of his leadership as a man of quality, commenting that at Nieuwpoort, although ill and injured, 'I knew if I left my place my men would instantly quail'. Despite his presence, quail they nevertheless did, and he was left under his dead horse with 'neither Officer, Gentleman, nor servant about me to give me help'.<sup>70</sup> During his account of the 'Island Voyage' of 1597, he speaks of 'soldiers, adventurers, officers and their trains'.<sup>71</sup> From Vere's and others' texts can be seen that

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<sup>66</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, I, p.48.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, I, p.50.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, I, p.87.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, I, p.2.

<sup>70</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.102. The servant in this context is presumably a soldier in attendance to an officer.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, p.59.

individuals slotted into extant categories, and were recognisable in their groupings, although terms such as 'officer,' 'NCO' and 'private' in their modern usage may be somewhat misleading. 'Soldier' can be a generic term that includes all military members of an army from general to private, or it can refer to the lower orders; the 'rank and file,' the led rather than the leader, as the latter would be referred to as the 'officers' or 'gentlemen.' Ideally officers would serve their time in the ranks, 'passing through all the Inferior places of Command,'<sup>72</sup> and be promoted on merit, thus rising from private soldier, through corporal and sergeant to ensign, lieutenant then captain and possibly higher.<sup>73</sup> 'None can command so well, as those which have been commanded,'<sup>74</sup> said one experienced leader, while another soldier and military theorist advised that generals should observe these rules in order to avoid nepotism,

...& not to elect him for Captaine who never was Lieutenant; nor him for Lieutenant, who never was Ensigne: & that the Treasurers of the Campes and Navies should not set downe place to an Ensigne-bearer, who never was Sergeant; nor to a Sergeant which never was Caporall: and that this order among them all should be inviolably observed & kept...<sup>75</sup>

It is a common theory, with further advice to 'all young Gentlemen' suggesting they should 'learne first to obay, the better shall you knowe howe to command.'<sup>76</sup> Monro also thought that some soldiers could and did gain senior rank from a lowly start:

Sundry Cavalieres, that carried charge under this Regiment in Denmarke, wee see in the beginning of this new Warre; for having attained to a little experience under this Regiment, they are now like the Eagles birds, that how soone they can but flee, they take command on themselves, and that most worthily, knowing, that it is ambition grounded upon virtue, makes the meanest Souldier mount from the lowest centrie, to the top of honour to be a Generall; as some of our worthy Countrymen have done under the Crowne of Sweden, to their eternal glory.<sup>77</sup>

This somewhat contradicts his previous comments on the masses, but such ambition was not necessarily considered rare, one soldier opining that 'there is none worthy to be a

<sup>72</sup> Francis Markham, *Epistles*, p.134.

<sup>73</sup> Those that did were worthy of mention; Ernest, count de Montecuculi, 'had passed through all ranks, from a pikeman to a general of artillery and commander in Alsatia', James Grant, *Memoirs and Adventures of Sir John Hepburn* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1851), p.58.

<sup>74</sup> Williams, *Discourse*, p.11.

<sup>75</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, p.23.

<sup>76</sup> Barwick, *Breefe Discourse*, p.5.

<sup>77</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.14, probably referring to Alexander Leslie, Field Marshal in the Swedish army. He also appears to contradict this, saying 'soldiers are ever good servants, but more often cruel masters.' *Ibid*, I, p.48.

soldier, that dooth not thinke to be a Captaine in time, by his valour, knowledge, and good behaviour'.<sup>78</sup> It could also be that both are referring to 'gentlemen' soldiers only.

Despite such advice, in effect officers, that is those from a higher social position and therefore deemed suitable for leadership, would generally start life as an ensign, and hope to progress from there. Some, like Sir Francis Vere (a relative of the Earl of Oxford), were captains after a short time and rose to higher rank. Others had slower and less distinguished careers. Henry Hexham took some twenty five years to rise to captain and progressed no further.<sup>79</sup> The term 'officer,' that is denoting military rank of ensign (cornet in the cavalry) and above, may also be an anachronism, as the term in this period may have referred to either somebody with transferable authority, a functionary, or even an NCO.<sup>80</sup> Assessing the manuals of contemporary authors leads me to conclude that it often meant all of the above. In other words, it was a general label to describe people in authority at various levels. Monro speaks of officers as 'Commanders and Leaders' (he also speaks of 'the duty of an officer'), John Cruso makes little use of the term but does mention 'the Colonell...the Sergeant Major, Provost and all the Officers of the Regiment;' Henry Hexham includes 'sarjant,' 'corporall,' 'drumme majour,' and 'clarkes' as officers of a foot company, as well as a 'barber chirurgian,' and 'gentlemen,' although the latter he also confusingly refers to as private soldiers. He also speaks of 'Officers, Gentlemen, and Souldiers.' Garrard refers to 'mean offices, as Drums, Fifes, Surgeans, and the Clarke of the Band,' while Barret speaks of 'every officer...from the Caporall to the Captain General.' Francis Markham, however, moves towards a more modern usage when he describes the ensign as 'the first great Officer of a private Company: for all the former (howsoever necessary) are but petty and low places, this only the first of Eminence and Account.'<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Barwick, *Breefe Discourse*, p.15.

<sup>79</sup> ODNB: Henry Hexham.

<sup>80</sup> Hale, *War and Society*, p.131. Historians seem equally loose with their use of the term. Åberg states 30,000 'officers' deployed to serve Gustavus Adolphus, but this cannot be right as soldiers of all ranks deployed in that number. Alf Åberg, 'Scottish Soldiers in the Swedish Armies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Grant G. Simpson, ed., *Scotland and Scandinavia 800-1800* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), p.91.

<sup>81</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, I, p.37, II, p.98; John Cruso, *The Art of Warre* (Cambridge, 1639), p.19; Henry Hexham, *The Principles of the Art Militarie* (London, 1637-40), pp. 1 – 7, *Venlo*, p.31; Garrard, *Breefe Discourse*, p.51; Barret, *Theorike*, p.13; Francis Markham, *Epistles*, p.73.

## Gentlemen volunteers

'Gentlemen adventurers' or 'gentlemen volunteers' were found in all European armies.<sup>82</sup> They were from a higher social grouping, but took no command position within a company, unless they declared themselves interested in climbing the military promotion ladder. Some financed themselves, and so may have represented a wholly chivalric approach to warfare, 'the military calling in its purest form,'<sup>83</sup> although Clarendon distrusted such individuals as bored young men who would 'kill one another for something to do'.<sup>84</sup> Some may have been officers temporarily without command who 'serve privatlie, untill occasion presents to advance them unto the places they had before'.<sup>85</sup> Such were known as 'reformadoes'. The Spanish *particulares* were especially valued by the Duke of Alva who described them as 'men who win victories...and with whom the General establishes the requisite discipline among the troops'. These *particulares* included the Treshams, Catesbys and a certain Guido Fawkes, all veterans of the Spanish Army of Flanders. A Dutchman commented of 'gentlemen-rankers' in the army of the United Provinces that they were 'the people who bear the brunt of the battles and sieges, as we have seen on many occasions, and who by their example oblige and enliven the rest of the soldiers (who have less sense of duty) to stand fast and fight with courage'.<sup>86</sup> A minister with the English contingent in Holland had a similarly high regard for such gentlemen, suggesting that they were treated as ordinary soldiers, commenting on:

...the company of divers Noble volunteers amongst whom that Noble Gentle-man my Lord Craven, (who hath much honored his nation abroad) must not be forgotten, who with the first presented him-selfe with his musket, ready to share in the common condition, whether good or bad.<sup>87</sup>

Just how much of the 'common condition' Lord Craven shared in would be interesting to know, as 'gentlemen volunteers' could be a curiously independent element. They could be trusted with the daily 'watchword' where common soldiers were not. They were also often tasked with inspecting the sentinels guarding a position, and as such were referred to as

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<sup>82</sup> The terminology becomes slightly confused, for instance Hexham speaks of 'Diverse Volunteres, Gentlemen, and Souldiers...' Hexham, *Venlo*, pp. 11; 13; 15, and Poyntz describes himself as 'a private souldier' not a gentleman volunteer, A.T.S. Goodrick, ed., *The Relation of Sydenham Poyntz 1624-1636* (London: Royal Historical Society, Camden Third Series, Vol. XIV, 1908), p.45, thus undermining Trim's statement that contemporaries 'distinguish clearly between officers, gentlemen and ordinary soldiers'; 'Fighting "Jacob's War"', p.283.

<sup>83</sup> Frank Tallett, *War and Society in Early-Modern Europe 1495-1715* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.102.

<sup>84</sup> Manning, *Swordsmen*, p.125.

<sup>85</sup> Williams, *Discourse*, p.24.

<sup>86</sup> Quoted in Parker, *Spanish Road*, p.34.

<sup>87</sup> Hugh Peters, *Digitus Dei, Or Good Newes From Holland* (Rotterdam, 1631), p.5.

'rounders,' that is those making the rounds.<sup>88</sup> They seem to have been able to make their own call on what and where they would contribute. At Breda a group of them 'putt themselves under Coronell Gorings command,' while others 'mounted themselves under the Princes Troupe'.<sup>89</sup> Such independence may have caused some command difficulties, as this example from Ostend demonstrates:

A French Gentleman disobeying his Serjeant, and thereupon causing a great tumult, was committed to prison, and eight dayes after, condemned by a Council of War to be shot to death; but because he was descended of a good House, all the French Captains interposed their earnest intreaties to General Vere, and begged for his life; which was granted, upon condition that he should ask the Serjeant forgiveness...<sup>90</sup>

This does not appear to have been an isolated incident if we read Francis Markham's comments on the clash of social position with military rank:

...it is a customary thinge in the warres that men of great Birth and qualitie doe usually traile Pikes, and what through the guard of their Captaines favor, the rashnesse of their owne youthfull wills, the presumption of other mens examples, and the assuming of an unnecessary freedome from some other perticuler beholdingnes, they grow oft times disorderly and unruly and will not be commanded by the ordinary Sergeants...<sup>91</sup>

To the professional soldier, concerned as ever with the discipline of his force, 'Blood hath no priviledge if once it rebel against Obedience'.<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless gentlemen, particularly high ranking ones,<sup>93</sup> may have been at times more of a hindrance than a help. The old soldier who assisted Vere at Ostend was a 'gentleman' and a trusted comrade;<sup>94</sup> compare him with C.R. Markham's remarks regarding temporary soldiers visiting from England:

One of the general's [Sir Francis Vere] chief troubles had been the way in which useless officers were forced upon him by powerful relations at home. These fine gentlemen did not object to an exiting skirmish, or even to a battle, if they could go home to swagger about it immediately afterwards. In ordinary times they were constantly absent. They had a strong dislike to hard work, and were useless as regimental officers. The general naturally deprecated their presence in his army.

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<sup>88</sup> Hexham, *Art Militarie*, p.6.

<sup>89</sup> Hexham, *Siege of Breda*, p.7.

<sup>90</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.140.

<sup>91</sup> Francis Markham, *Epistles*, p.143.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> For instance, Hexham speaks of 'the Marquis de Gere a French Voluntier...' *Venlo*, p.22.

<sup>94</sup> Vere 'called for an old souldier, a Gentleman of his company' to carry out an important task; Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.171.

Among these incumbrances were the Earl of Northumberland...and Sir Callisthenes Brooke...<sup>95</sup>

Steve Murdoch makes a curious comment: 'Some gentlemen, like Sir Thomas Kellie...even left Scotland with only their personal servants in attendance to join the anti-Habsburg armies as private soldiers'. If Kellie was a Private, what were his servants?<sup>96</sup>

At times such gentlemen formed a disproportionately large part of a force. Of the three hundred men who deployed to the Netherlands with Thomas Morgan in 1572, over a third were 'Gentlemen', including 'divers Officers which had commanded before' and 'divers Captaines and souldiers, who had served some in Scotland, some in Ireland and others in France'.<sup>97</sup> Geoffrey Gates was another English volunteer, driven to the Low Countries purely through religious zeal.<sup>98</sup> David Trim concludes that 'the bulk' of English and Welsh soldiers in the Low Countries were gentlemen, but this is probably an overstatement as he appears to have confused volunteers of all types with gentlemen volunteers.<sup>99</sup>

Another spin on the word 'volunteer' is the context used by Sir Horace Vere in a letter to Andrew Newton of 1610 as he prepared to deploy to Cleves-Jülich: 'His Excellencie [Prince Maurice] hath desyred me to wayte upon him which I wold not refewse, yt is the fyrst tyme that I was a voluntarie synce I was of the profession'. David Trim comments: 'This is a fascinating remark, indicating a distinction, in contemporary perception, between volunteers and mercenaries'.<sup>100</sup> Again, there is confusion regarding Vere's use of the term 'volunteer'. Vere here differentiates between his service on this particular deployment which was at the direction of the government in England, for which he had 'volunteered' and was therefore not obliged to follow the orders of the Dutch commander (at the time of writing, but eventually Maurice was to command the allied army), and his service for the United Provinces, which was not at the direction of his own government and where he was obliged to follow the orders of the commander, Maurice. Vere in his letter is making the point, perhaps with some irony, that he was being *asked* by

<sup>95</sup> C.R. Markham, *Fighting Veres*, p.306.

<sup>96</sup> Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603-1660* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003), p.211.

<sup>97</sup> Williams, *Actions*, p.56.

<sup>98</sup> ODNB: Geoffrey Gates.

<sup>99</sup> Trim, 'Fighting "Jacob's Wars"', p.285; his table at p.282 contradicts his statement as it shows just under 11%, hardly 'the bulk'.

<sup>100</sup> D.J.B. Trim, 'Sir Horace Vere in Holland, 1610-1612', *Historical Research*, Vol 72, 1999, p.349.

the general who usually *ordered* due to the change of status. He would, of course, comply, not least because they would return to the status quo soon enough. Vere was a 'professional' soldier in either camp – it was why he had been asked to command the English contingent – he was only a 'mercenary' to modern historians who use terminology in a different context than the early modern.

### Rank and file

The last and largest category – the common foot soldier (having divided out the gentleman element) – is the one about which we know least and the one for whom the published works provide least detailed information. Common soldiers were rarely authors and their leaders showed very little care or concern for them, 'of whom in Armies there is none, or very small reckoning made, save only of Officers, of whom the Sergeant is the meanest'.<sup>101</sup> Drawn from the lower sections of society who, until the industrial age, remained largely anonymous, we can only observe attitudes towards them through the policies formed to lead, direct and contain them by the governing elite. The English Privy Council did at times look to send its ne'er-do-wells abroad to fight, as it believed, with good reason, that most would not return, and this was certainly true of its policy towards the Irish.<sup>102</sup> In Scotland, the Privy Council supported recruiting drives to fight 'the bludy and tressonable papistis' in the Low Countries, concerned that the war may spill over into Scotland, but also aware that food and employment could not be guaranteed for everyone at home.<sup>103</sup> The Stuart expeditions in the 1620s relied upon conscription as the number of men required could not be had at short notice as there was no standing army and the militia units had a remit for home defence only. The levies were for greater numbers than during the Elizabethan period which, by this time, had been largely forgotten. The famed 'masterless' men were fair game for the press, as well as other undesirables, but the sweeping of prisons does not appear to have been as common as some would have it. That said, sometimes this was not quite as it seems and statistics can be misleading. Lord Saltoun in Scotland, knowing that recruits for French service would be drawn from jails,

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<sup>101</sup> William Lithgow, *A True and Experimental Discourse upon the beginning, proceeding and Victorious event of this last siege Of Breda* (London, 1637), p.24.

<sup>102</sup> C.G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), p.19; Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West*, Second Edition (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.53.

<sup>103</sup> I. Ross Bartlett, 'Scottish Mercenaries in Europe, 1570-1640: A Study in Attitudes and Policies', *Scottish Tradition*, Vol. XIII (1984-85), p.16; M.S. Anderson, *War and Society in Europe of the Old Regime 1618-1789* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1998), p.29.



deliberately had men imprisoned.<sup>104</sup> For the expedition to Germany in 1627, those who refused to pay the forced loan were pressed into service.<sup>105</sup> Although the physical (and mental) condition of many individuals would no doubt have been sub-standard,<sup>106</sup> and their morale and desire to fight must have been low, they nevertheless 'stood their ground often enough and stoutly' at Rhé and 'were better men than their selectors had any right to expect'.<sup>107</sup>

The largest levy was for Mansfeld's expedition: 'Such a rabble of raw and poor rascals have not lightly been seen and they so unwillingly that they must rather be driven than led.'<sup>108</sup> The disasters of Cadiz in 1625 and the Isle of Rhé in 1627 were blamed largely on the poor quality of pressed troops, and this followed the Elizabethan tradition, Barnaby Rich saying in 1587: 'In England when service happeneth we disburthen the prisons of thieves, we rob the taverns and alehouses of tosspots and ruffians, we scour both town and country of rogues and vagabonds'.<sup>109</sup> The reliable and better off were therefore retained to populate the militia which, although specifically formed to stay at home, at times was required to augment the 100,000 men who between 1585 and 1603 deployed out of England.<sup>110</sup> It was preferable to leave the honest man at home:

The pety constable, when he perceyveth the wars are in hand, foreseeing the toyles, the infinite perills, and troublesome travayles that is incident to souldyers, is loth that anye honest man, through his procurement should hazard himselfe amongst so many daungers; wherefore if within his office there hap to remayne any idle fellow, some dronkerd, or seditiouse quariler, a privy pricker, or such a one that hath some skill in stealing a goose, these shall be presented to the servyce of the Prince.<sup>111</sup>

Volunteer forces tended to be of a different calibre. The soldiers that deployed with Sir Horace Vere into Germany in 1620 were 'the gallantest for the persons and outward

<sup>104</sup> Stephen J. Stearns, 'Conscription and English Society in the 1620s', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.11, No. 2 (May 1972), p.5. Matthew Glozier, 'Scots in the French and Dutch Armies,' in Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, p.123.

<sup>105</sup> E.A. Beller, 'The Military Expedition of Sir Charles Morgan to Germany, 1627-9', *English Historical Review*, No.43 (1928), p.530.

<sup>106</sup> Although perhaps not as many as one would expect. Stearns calculates 'as a crude approximation...as many as ten per cent pressed were immediately and obviously not fit for duty', Stearns, 'Conscription', p.8, n30. The British Army has recently announced 20% of the infantry not fit for frontline duties mainly due to 'physical and mental illness, or lack of fitness', Army Briefing Note, 12 January 2010.

<sup>107</sup> Stearns, 'Conscription', p.23.

<sup>108</sup> C.H.Firth, *Cromwell's Army* (Uckfield: Naval & Military Press edition, from 1911), p.2.

<sup>109</sup> Barnaby Rich, *A Pathway to Military Practice* (London, 1587).

<sup>110</sup> Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, pp. 108; 166.

<sup>111</sup> Barnaby Rich, *A Right Excelent and Pleasaunt Dialogue, between Mercury and an English Souldier containing his supplication to Mars* (London, 1574). Firth, p.3.

presence of men that in many ages hath appeared,' and they showed considerable courage at Heidelberg, Mannheim and Frankenthal.<sup>112</sup>

The social divide between these categories of military personnel was, at its widest point (between volunteer colonel and conscripted private) enormous, although the system nevertheless adopted a degree of meritocracy. Soldiering was difficult and dangerous and those who succeeded and showed flair could be rewarded. Despite these internal groupings, aligned as they were to social rank and status, to a nervous civilian population a soldier was just a soldier, whatever his rank and regardless of his education, and soldiers were not necessarily popular people, even in England where the negative effects of deploying armies on an unwilling population were not felt to any great extent until 1642.<sup>113</sup>

Elizabethan England before the Armada had been at peace for several decades, and continued to avoid war on home territory despite the threat of invasion, although some warned against complacency:

... if Englande stood in the continent of the world environed with mightie nations, that in the dayes of frendship would move direction to feare their malice in the time of controversy: then should it know the value of a soldier and lick the dust off the feete of her men of prowesse: then would the lawer and the marcheant humble themselves to the warriors, and be glad to give honour and salary to the martialist: and shew friendly grace to his page, and favor to his lackey.<sup>114</sup>

What Elizabethan England lacked was military training, and it was believed that with it her safety would be assured by the superiority of her men 'for in respect of this nation, the Spanyardes indeede are but peevish weedes'.<sup>115</sup> Continued national safety lay with the professional soldier, but to local gentry that meant handing control to 'foreigners' – individuals from outside the county – and the training, payment and ultimately the ownership of the militia, the homeland defence force, became the pre-civil war focus for serious disputes.

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<sup>112</sup> Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p.2.

<sup>113</sup> Although the troops raised in the 1620s for the expeditions created something of a stir in localized areas; Stephen J. Stearns, 'Military Disorder and Martial Law in Early Stuart England,' in Buchanan Sharp and Mark Charles Fissel, eds., *Law and Authority in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), p.107.

<sup>114</sup> Gates, *Defence*, p.18.

<sup>115</sup> Barwick, *Breefe Discourse*, p.20. Williams, although he respected their 'good order', believed the Spanish to be 'the basest and cowardlie sort of people of most others', *Discourse*, p.8.

## The Militia

Traditionally the system utilised in England for defence from external invaders had taken the form of a 'nation in arms', where every man was expected to hold weapons according to his wealth and social position. Based on the county as the unit of administration, it was created initially as the Anglo-Saxon 'fyrd', and re-enforced through later parliamentary enactments, notably the Statute of Winchester in 1285, until extant laws were repealed by Philip and Mary and a new system was introduced by Elizabeth which lasted until the advent of the civil wars.<sup>116</sup> In the Elizabethan system, Lord Lieutenants were responsible for organising forces within their jurisdiction, which could be one or more county. This position had become permanent by 1585, the visible turning-point towards anti-Spanish policy. These local forces were designed to fight within their own district, unless the country was subject to invasion (although, as the reason for their inception was to fight off invasion, to promote the local nature of their deployment could be seen as disingenuous). Theoretically all able-bodied men from the ages of sixteen to sixty, below the social position of baron, were mustered at regular intervals. The Privy Council attempted to impose a suitable level of infantry training, while little is known of the horse,<sup>117</sup> in order to produce a force across the country capable of ejecting a hostile foreigner, who by this time had come to be recognised as Spain, superseding France in this role. Churches were often used as armouries to store weapons, ammunition and associated equipment, although magazines were later built for this purpose, and the men would often march several miles to a central muster location. They were paid for their efforts, but absenteeism was a constant problem, even though imprisonment for failure to attend, and even for insubordination whilst attending, remained a very real risk. The centralising efforts of the Privy Council were often defied by corporate bodies, such as towns that resisted through their charters or cited ancient privileges, for example the Stannaries of Devon and Cornwall and the Cinque Ports. There were consistent difficulties in assessing the quality of the men nationwide. The 300,000 men mustered in 1588 produced a subtotal of 111,500 who were actually trained. Although the amateur and under-developed bureaucracy of the Elizabethan government struggled to achieve a standard across the nation, there were nevertheless many men armed and trained through its efforts.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Brian Todd Carey, *Warfare in the Medieval World* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2006), pp. 69-71. Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, p.7.

<sup>117</sup> Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, p.123.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid, pp. 13-50.

It was generally accepted that these 'trained bands' should attempt to mirror the new professionalism witnessed in the Continental theatres of war, particularly that of the Netherlands. Experienced officers were therefore sought, but only to second and advise the local gentry, who were more often than not military amateurs but extremely protective of their status within their community. The need for veterans saw the Privy Council active in allocating captains to counties, committed Protestants all as there was no room for men with Catholic sympathies regardless of their military prowess.<sup>119</sup> These men became the 'muster-masters' in the counties, usually the only men capable of conducting military training, but subordinate to the local captains, who were concerned more with their prestige than any desire to produce an effective fighting force. In an attempt at a military command structure, in 1588 these captains were overseen by three of the country's most senior soldiers; Sir John Norris, Sir Thomas Leighton and Sir Thomas Morgan, who each took responsibility for a group of counties.<sup>120</sup> Notwithstanding, the muster-masters were to become increasingly unpopular, not least because the responsibility for their wages shifted from central government to the counties, who not unnaturally cried foul. The soldier who could be seen as a mercenary abroad was to be accused of the same in his own country.<sup>121</sup> However, during times of national emergency, as in 1588 or the late 1590s, veterans of foreign service were in demand, the Queen ordering their return from the Netherlands and France. The Earl of Essex valued one hundred veterans to every thousand of the best-trained bands.<sup>122</sup> A veteran of foreign service, Thomas Churchyard was one such muster-master, serving in Kent in 1584, and he commented in one of his published works that it was a thankless task.<sup>123</sup> Francis Markham was another veteran who also served as a muster-master, in Nottingham, from 1612 until his death in 1622.<sup>124</sup> He commented on the innate unpopularity of his role:

Muster-masters in the warres were very odious unto Capitaines; for in serving of his Prince truly, and in mustering stricktly he wipeth much undue profit from the Capitaine, and spoyleth him of those payes, which it may be he had hop'd should have relieved many of his necessities...<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid, p.101.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, p.145.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, p.181.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, pp. 153; 162; 196/7.

<sup>123</sup> Thomas Churchyard, *The Worthines of Wales* (London, 1587). Merrill Harvey Goldwyn, 'Notes on the Biography of Thomas Churchyard,' *Review of English Studies*, n.s.:17:65 (1966: Feb), p.15. ODNB: Thomas Churchyard.

<sup>124</sup> ODNB: Francis Markham.

<sup>125</sup> Francis Markham, *Epistles*, p.122.

Following the frenetic and expensive activity during the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the militia fell into a state of moribund decay under James I, although the latter part of his reign saw some increased levels of activity. In particular was the alarm caused by the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, and the use of military 'grounds' or 'gardens,' such as the Honourable Artillery Company in London, witnessed some expansion.<sup>126</sup> Hostility continued to grow between the county and its professional muster-master, who was increasingly seen in many areas as an informer who reported the deficiencies of the local militia to central government, ironically drawing pay from the administrative body whose failings he was exposing. This growing resentment often resulted in open disputes, occasionally the muster-master remained unpaid or was even dismissed.<sup>127</sup>

Charles I attempted to revitalise training in the towns and counties through his 'Exact Militia,' an aspect of the 'thorough' government proposed by the King's advisors Laud and Strafford, and to do this he looked also to the professionals from the Low Countries. The short-term attachment of sergeants experienced in continental warfare in 1626,<sup>128</sup> which lasted from between three months to three years and numbered eighty four of them in all, was intended to inject the requisite level of enthusiasm and expertise to set the militia on the right course, maintaining a prescribed standard set by the official 1623 drill book.<sup>129</sup> Unfortunately this initiative coincided with a major preoccupation of the counties, the military expeditions of Rhé and Cadiz,<sup>130</sup> which, combined with the long standing resentment of the gentry towards the financial drain and general impositions of the militia on the county, led to the eventual failure of the Exact Militia. Throughout the reign ex-soldiers from European campaigns continued to be utilised by the counties to train their men, but the deteriorating political situation as the authority of central government crumbled resulted in a parallel deterioration in the condition of the militia. The professional veteran theoretically still tasked with organising county and town military training, the muster-master, came to be seen as the representative of a despised government, and faded from view. By the time the First Bishops' War saw that

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<sup>126</sup> Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, p.216.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, pp. 224-7.

<sup>128</sup> Walter Yonge describes one sent to Colyton, Devon, in a diary entry for 1626. Quoted in Richard Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England,' *Past and Present*, No. 112. (Aug., 1986) p.71.

<sup>129</sup> Anon, *Instructions for Musters and Armes, and the use thereof: by order of the Lords of his Majesties most honourable Privy Counsaile* (London, 1623).

<sup>130</sup> At times the militia was used as a military police force to maintain discipline over rowdy troops, with mixed effect. Stearns, 'Military Disorder', p.112.

government attempt to mobilise the militia, clearly it was far from able to project itself effectively as fully trained military units.<sup>131</sup>

## Conclusion

To all historians of the period, a soldier who fought outside his own country was labelled a mercenary. To David Trim, this included those who fought for their own prince as the receipt of pay categorised him as such, while Roger Manning discounts the pay theory and replaces it with recruitment by a contractor. Even those historians who accept that the term may be invalid use it nonetheless. James Fallon states that the Scot who served Christian IV and Gustavus Adolphus 'was hardly a true mercenary at all, since the currency with which he was rewarded was frequently no more than that of honour and reputation', and yet he continues to refer to these soldiers as mercenaries throughout his thesis.<sup>132</sup> Ian Ross Bartlett has commented that 'the professional soldier may not be a mercenary, while the mercenary is certainly a professional soldier.'<sup>133</sup> The first part of this sentence is true, but the second part is not – what of the temporary soldier who fought for no cause yet had accrued neither sufficient time, training nor experience to classify as a 'professional', and moved on after a short time? His comment is to continue to merge terms and to give them inadequate definition. The sources reviewed during this thesis are clear on their understanding of the term 'mercenary', and it can be stated with some confidence that an individual who spent a lifetime, or at least several years in combat would be considered a professional. The two terms are not mutually exclusive, but it was possible, indeed common, to be one without the other.

Those in command were in most cases drawn from the educated section of society, notwithstanding a certain merit-driven mobility and the occasional illiterate field marshal. As well as the leaders, many individuals who volunteered to serve as ordinary soldiers were also 'gentlemen'. Not all gentlemen were leaders, however, and this point has been confused also. The ranks and position of 'gentlemen', 'private soldiers' and 'officers' remain somewhat opaque, leading some historians to confuse who belonged to which category and inflate the numbers of 'officers' (that is as 'leaders' distinct from 'officers' as

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<sup>131</sup> Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, pp. 244-295. Ironically those who were trained were retained in the counties. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p.13n1.

<sup>132</sup> Fallon, 'Scottish Mercenaries in the service of Denmark and Sweden', p.ii.

<sup>133</sup> Bartlett, 'Scottish Mercenaries in Europe', p.16.

‘gentlemen’). This is a reflection of the development of armies across the European battlefield during this time, in conjunction with the extant social distinctions that separated out those of higher status and continued to employ them in positions of command.

Even though the accounts reflect the retention of chivalry and the code of honour, nevertheless they demonstrate a high degree of expertise that saw individuals embrace advances in military technology and tactics.<sup>134</sup> It is also clear that most of these men considered victory over the enemy the pre-eminent goal and this is discussed in the next chapter. I would have to agree with one of the older generation of historians who reflected that Francis and Horace Vere ‘symbolised the steady professionalism of the command in the Low Countries’.<sup>135</sup> Chapter Three considers the various early-modern factors that determined the motivational aspects of an individual’s decision to fight through close analysis of soldiers’ works, and Chapter Four draws on the soldiers’ accounts once the decision had been made and they were engaged in combat.

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<sup>134</sup> According to Trim the development was ‘in spite’ of chivalry; *Chivalric ethos*, p.287.

<sup>135</sup> Charles Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1970), p.113.

## Chapter Three

### The motivation of soldiers

#### Introduction

This chapter analyses why individuals chose to become soldiers, and why they desired to take part in foreign wars. It considers the problems involved in interpreting the published writings of soldiers. It discusses the extent to which the sources amplify or modify current understanding of motivation. As a consequence, it suggests that historians' arguments require revision. In addition to studying in detail the contribution made by the works of the authors Monro, Poyntz, Vere, Williams, Hexham and others, it draws upon other contemporary sources, such as Gates's *Defence of Militarie Profession*.

The various motivating factors within early modern society that drove men to join armies are not necessarily easy to discern and are certainly not uniform. Probing motivation is always problematic. Individuals can rationalise their motivation after or during the event. They may have mixed motives. They may have surface motivations and subliminal motivations; they may wish to convey a particular motivation to their audience. The Scots, with such a high proportion of adult males involved in foreign wars,<sup>1</sup> may have been able to justify their involvement with Sweden in the Thirty Years' War through a number of reasons. These included religious conviction, loyalty to the house of Stuart, the opportunity to serve in the 'academy' of Gustavus Adolphus, to acquire land, or a combination of all four. Prior to the battle of the White Mountain such clarity of cause was not available even though many Scots were nevertheless engaged in the Netherlands.<sup>2</sup> The Welsh and English were able to fight for Queen and country after the Treaty of Nonsuch, but there were those who had fought before it. It is therefore difficult not to consider the possibility that reasons to fight presented themselves as a convenience. They would have fought abroad, as in many cases their ancestors had done, regardless of the righteousness of any cause. Economic reasons were more likely to motivate the Scots than

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<sup>1</sup> Some 62,000 in the Thirty Years' War; Steve Murdoch, 'Introduction' in Steve Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p.19, Table 1. Some 26,000 during the period 1573-1643 in the Low Countries; Hugh Dunthorne, 'Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries, 1572-1648', in Grant G. Simpson, ed., *Scotland and the Low Countries 1124-1994* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), p.116, Table 1. It has been estimated that one in five young Scots men went abroad, mainly to continental Europe and for the most part as soldiers; Patrick Fitzgerald, 'Scottish Migration to Ireland in the Seventeenth Century', in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p.49.

<sup>2</sup> Alf Åberg, 'Scottish Soldiers in the Swedish Armies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Grant G. Simpson, ed., *Scotland and Scandinavia 800-1800* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), p.96-7.



their wealthier English neighbours,<sup>3</sup> although profit from war frequently fell below soldiers' expectations. Religion was a sound excuse for a martial vocation. The Englishman Geoffrey Gates, in his apology for the military profession in 1579, identified a combination of religious and secular commitments, cemented with virtuous personal qualities and regardless of class, which should lead a man to a soldier's calling:

...let every citizen and rurall man, gentle or ungentle, noble or unnoble, riche or poore, that meaneth to prove himself a good christian, a faithful Englishman, zealous toward the state publike of his country, of commendable integrity toward his prince and servent in the love and maintenance of Gods kingdome and glory upon earth: let every such one I say, imbrace godlinesse: honour, nourish, and exercise Armes, and learne with diligence, the skill and prudence that doe necessarily accompany the same.<sup>4</sup>

There are, however, frequent examples in the available texts of the period that, through lack of religious fervour, indicate that religion could be regarded as a private matter. It was seen by some as an issue for an individual's 'secret closet of the conscience,' and apparently Elizabeth I viewed it as such, and therefore a person's loyalty to a cause may in some cases have contrasted with his religion.<sup>5</sup> The Scotsman Sir John Hepburn, for instance, was a practising Catholic who nevertheless fought with much enthusiasm for the Swedish against the Emperor.<sup>6</sup> The 'devoted Catholic' William Blandy supported English intervention in the Low Countries on the side of the Protestant States General, and became friends with the 'apocalyptic Calvinist' Geoffrey Gates, with whom he wrote a work championing the English military effort in the Netherlands, a friendship and business partnership somewhat surprising given the passions of the period and an indication that private religious conviction could still be separated from political opinion.<sup>7</sup> Sir Andrew Gray was a Scots Catholic who raised 4,000 men in England and Scotland for service with the Protestant Frederick V, whose war with the Empire had an important

<sup>3</sup> Grant G. Simpson, ed., *The Scottish Soldier Abroad 1247-1967* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), p.ix.

<sup>4</sup> Geoffrey Gates, *The Defence of Militarie Profession* (London, 1579), p.51.

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth 'would introduce no inquisition to look into her subjects souls'. Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion 1558-1603* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p.54.

<sup>6</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, hereafter *ODNB*. He resigned from Swedish service and the reasons are not clear: 'The source of contention may have been Hepburn's adherence to the Catholic faith...' It may be that Hepburn resigned after an affront given to Charles I by Gustavus Adolphus. Grant can only offer: 'Of the exact merits of the dispute there is no proper account preserved', James Grant, *Memoirs and Adventures of Sir John Hepburn* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1851), p.190. Hepburn then enlisted with the French, a Catholic nation, but continued to fight his enemy, the Catholic Austrian Habsburgs as they had dispossessed Elizabeth of Bohemia. Matthew Glozier, 'Scots in the French and Dutch Armies,' in Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, p.120.

<sup>7</sup> *ODNB*: Blandy and Gates. William Blandy, *The Castle, or picture of policy* (London, 1581).

religious aspect.<sup>8</sup> Even Sir Francis Vere's lifelong career in the service of Protestantism was preceded by a spell in France with the Catholic Duke of Guise, although he was 'made to know the error of that course'.<sup>9</sup>

These are intriguing examples of the ambivalent relationship that could exist between religion and politics in an age that was prone, when it suited, to couple religious dissidence with political treason. Loyalty, when considered through the prism of honour, could be equally ambivalent, and the works of soldiers reflect a number of religious and secular factors, some of them in conflict, that result in an uneasy balance each individual formulated to justify his actions. His published work would therefore frequently articulate a careful vindication of his involvement in martial affairs, with a modest dedication to a prominent figure with whom the author perceived a common purpose or belief, had served under previously or had some family connection<sup>10</sup>

### **An overview and critique of historians' interpretations of religious motivation in the Eighty and Thirty Years' Wars**

Historians have generally viewed the Eighty and Thirty Years' Wars as religiously inspired, as chapters in 'the long and desperate contest between Protestantism and Catholicism'.<sup>11</sup> It seems appropriate to summarise historians' understanding of the role played by religion in these wars and the evidence they have used to support it. For the Catholic Habsburg territories at the highest level religious inspiration prevailed, as King Phillip II of Spain and Emperor Ferdinand II were driven by a desire to expunge the heretic, and so ignored all opportunities for political compromise.<sup>12</sup> The anomaly in the Catholic camp was France, surrounded by potentially belligerent Catholic Habsburgs that represented a serious threat to its security. Protestants were split into various groups who talked of unity yet failed to deliver the military potential they threatened. In England, neither Elizabeth I, James I nor Charles I was prepared to support military alliances

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<sup>8</sup> S.L. Adams, 'The Protestant Cause: Religious Alliance with the west European Calvinist Communities as a Political Issue in England, 1585-1630', D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1973, p.294.

<sup>9</sup> ODNB: Sir Francis Vere.

<sup>10</sup> See Introduction, section on 'Patronage' for examples.

<sup>11</sup> Grant, *Hepburn*, p.1.

<sup>12</sup> '...most vital of all in Philip's eyes, the key ingredient, was the programme to revive the Catholic Church in the Netherlands...', Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1995), p.165; while '...the emperor's Catholic convictions amounted to a consuming passion,' R.J.W. Evans, 'The Imperial Vision', in Geoffrey Parker, ed., *The Thirty Years' War* (London: Routledge, 1987), p.75.

founded on an overtly religious base. Within the political nation, though, there were those who considered the religious dimension to be of primary importance. Simon Adams has shown that a network of aristocratic Calvinists and their clients in England, whom he terms 'political puritans', strove to support and unite their religious 'cause' with the reformed elements in the Netherlands, France and the Palatinate but argues that they were defeated by the over-riding political decisions of each monarch that countered or diluted their religious ambition.<sup>13</sup>

The focus has often been on Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who led the first official military contingent of Englishmen to the Netherlands in 1586. Whether for spiritual or political reasons he was a champion of the English Puritans, and as such advocated open military engagement with Catholic forces, particularly Spain's as the dominant, and most threatening, Catholic military power. Close reading of soldiers' writings indicates that his attitude may have been typical of many, Sir Roger Williams included. Few appear to have had a burning evangelical mission when compared to some of the soldiers of the Stuart period but, nevertheless, they showed an awareness of the religious condition of the nation as part of a cultural whole, possibly manipulating it for political gain.<sup>14</sup> They may have been spurred on by tales of the 'Black Legend' that propaganda pamphleteers were keen to create around reports of Spanish atrocity reflecting the global threat posed by the Spanish King 'ayming at an universall Monarchy'.<sup>15</sup>

There can be no doubt that Leicester's circle were keen to portray his expedition to the Netherlands as deploying in support of the religious 'cause' ('These warrs are holy'...'The quarrel is holy and just'). Not all the officers however were ardent protestants: Sir William Stanley, Roland Yorke and Christopher Blount participated as known or secret Catholics.<sup>16</sup> Given that the Queen was still considering negotiating with Parma at the time of the expedition, it was clear that her support for the venture was neither unequivocal nor driven through religion. Her comment to Leicester that 'you are only used for an instrument' reveals her position as a strategist weighing the odds in the game of *realpolitik*, a clear message that the supremacy of the practical would win out over

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<sup>13</sup> Adams, 'Protestant Cause', Abstract; Conclusion.

<sup>14</sup> F.G. Oosterhoff, *Leicester and the Netherlands 1586-1587* (Utrecht: HES, 1988), pp. 8, 20, 77.

<sup>15</sup> Henry Hexham, *A Tongue Combat lately happening between two English Souldiers* (London, 1623), p.5. Schilling, p.224; Israel, p.185.

<sup>16</sup> Adams, 'Protestant Cause', pp.56; 73. Simon Adams, 'A Patriot for Whom? Stanley, York and Elizabeth's Catholics', *History Today*, Vol. xxxvii, 1987, pp.46-50.

the ideological.<sup>17</sup> Essex, Leicester's step-son, succeeded as the leader of Leicester's 'party' after the latter's death in the Armada year, so continued war was a clear, if undeclared reality, but it still lacked the religious dimension as far as the Queen was concerned. Essex, according to Simon Adams, was now the leading political puritan, but there were a number of Catholics in his 'party' and it is difficult to see his dissatisfaction that led to rebellion as religiously motivated.<sup>18</sup> Efforts to combine an English, French and Dutch anti-Habsburg coordinated military front failed to materialize largely due to the Catholicism of the French kings and the political manoeuvring of the English/British monarchs, and any union with German Protestantism failed to take in the disinterested Lutherans. James concluded a treaty with Spain at the beginning of his reign while concurrently maintaining military support to the United Provinces, and the *realpolitik* continued into the new century much to the disappointment of zealous Protestants. James, far from being the Lion of the North, was as concerned for the security of his throne as Elizabeth had been for hers, and sought to protect it from external hostility, internal revolt and penury by balancing his options and not over committing; certainly not for the sake of international Protestantism, and he shunned all attempts to bring him into the Evangelical Union. At the heart of this was James' 'sincere and constant refusal to undertake religious politics, particularly when they involved war or rebellion'.<sup>19</sup> There were times when his hand was forced, and the hopes of political puritans must have revived during the Cleves-Jülich crisis in 1610 when French, Dutch and German forces combined with an English contingent commanded by the Calvinist Sir Horace Vere against an Imperial force. James' son Prince Henry, on whom the fortunes of political puritans for a short time rested, saw this episode as 'the beginnings of a great Protestant crusade'.<sup>20</sup> It was not to be, and the Palatinate situation after White Mountain was to force the issue and show just how uncommitted to a religious alliance the Stuarts were and leads Adams to conclude that the 'crucial' event in the Thirty Years' War was the 'conversion of the opposition to the Habsburgs from international Calvinism to the political alliances manipulated by the French monarchy'.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Adams, 'Protestant Cause', p.77.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.118, which sees a merging of the religious and political dimensions in Adams' discussion on Essex. This lack of a clear religious 'side' in an influential courtier is seen again with the rise of Buckingham, ibid, p.253.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, pp.255; 288.

<sup>20</sup> D.J.B. Trim, 'Sir Horace Vere in Holland, 1610-1612', *Historical Research*, Vol. 72, 1999, p.346.

<sup>21</sup> Adams, 'Protestant Cause', p.346.

Mansfeld's expedition and the Cadiz Voyage, poorly planned and rashly executed government ventures, utilised conscripts so the quality and religious commitment of the soldiery was sub par; the failure at Rhé amid political confusion was equally poor. All these Stuart military endeavours that the government embarked upon up until 1629 were developed out of a myriad of political intrigues that had very little to do with religion and all ended in failure. Concurrent with this was the ascendance of the Laudian party within the Church of England and the alienation of the reformed churches abroad. There were those in England who demanded military support for the wider religious family of European Calvinists and those who volunteered to fight could claim to do so for this cause.<sup>22</sup> Sir Horace Vere was the senior military figure and, despite political opposition, became general of the English forces in the United Provinces. The wording of Adams' description of Vere's position is of interest here, as he states that the balance of senior commanders within the army of the United Provinces '...reflected a political/religious division...between those like Vere and the Sidneys who were puritan in religion and advocates of political puritanism, and those whose conception of their role was primarily professional'.<sup>23</sup> The inference of what is or was meant by 'professional' is noteworthy. Horace Vere had been a soldier since a young age, and has been described by a biographer as a 'professional soldier, pure and simple'.<sup>24</sup> The point that Adams makes though is that many of his colleagues in the army of the United Provinces with whom Sir Horace Vere served were of similarly strong religious belief who would fall into his category of political puritan and who would therefore be able to underwrite their profession with ideological arguments for the defence of the reformed community. However not all of them were.

### **'True' religion and the Protestant cause**

An examination of the published writings of soldiers furthers our understanding in several ways. According to Thomas Churchyard, the Spanish Inquisition was 'the ground

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<sup>22</sup> Adams refers here to the 'curse of Meroz' ('Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of God, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the LORD, to the help of the LORD against the mighty'; Judges 5.23), Adams, 'Protestant Cause', p.424, n2. This quotes Hugh Peters' *Digitus Dei* (Rotterdam, 1631), which has a reference to Judges 5.28. The only reference I can find to 5.23 is Edward Gee's sermon of 1620, *Two Sermons* (London, 1620) which does not mention European political issues or military affairs at all, and Stephen Marshall's sermon, *Meroz Cursed* (London, 1641) which was written and published in 1641 and refers to Ireland and drew a response from Edward Symmons, *Scripture vindicated* (Oxford, 1644) as a Civil War exchange of words.

<sup>23</sup> Adams, 'Protestant Cause', p.439.

<sup>24</sup> ODNB: Sir Horace Vere.

of al the grieffe in the Netherlands, and the original cause of the civill warres there,'<sup>25</sup> thus giving the conflict a religious base. Whatever the personal *reasons* individuals from Britain had for deploying to the Netherlands (economic, in search of adventure, to escape from something or someone at home), the *cause*, simply stated, was fighting 'for the freedome of true Religion' in conflict with the Catholic enemy,<sup>26</sup> encouraged by the government for whom it was the spread of Popery and the Counter-Reformation that was feared, rather than the small-time Catholic in the market-place.<sup>27</sup> According to Sir Roger Williams, who was amongst the first to deploy to the Netherlands in 1572, there was an absence of religious motivation as 'dutie, honor & welth makes men follow the wars',<sup>28</sup> and although he supports Churchyard's view when he rails against 'their [the Spanish] divelish Inquisition',<sup>29</sup> he makes little comment on religious issues. He does accept, however, that fighting for religion may make better soldiers where he talks of 'three hundred French all of the religion, in whom can be no treachery' and 'valiant faithful men of warre, that fought either for religion or reputation'.<sup>30</sup> Likewise Robert Barret believed the 'first principle' of the soldier should be the 'defence of true religion' and that those who feared God 'fighteth with more bold resolution and courage'.<sup>31</sup> Williams refers to 'divers brawles and bickerings' between 'them of the religion' (Calvinists), 'Martinists' (Lutherans) and 'Papists' (Roman Catholics),<sup>32</sup> in a manner that maintains an aloofness; these are foreign people of various religious persuasions that do not cloud his own religious position, which is not sufficiently relevant (or radical) to be stated, and such debates did not rage at home. There is the odd stray comment regarding the ultimate omnipotence of God, but these are rare and probably reflect the prevalent manner of speech rather than any evidence of serious piety; God in this context is Fate rather than the Father of Christ. 'For all battailes end as pleaseth the great God',<sup>33</sup> he remarks regarding William the Silent's stand-off with the Duke of Alva, and after that Prince's withdrawal into Germany, comments 'that the Almighty stirred new instruments to maintaine his

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Churchyard, *A True Discourse Historicall, of the Succeeding Governors in the Netherlands, and the Civill Warres there begun in the yeere 1565* (London, 1602), p.4.

<sup>26</sup> Gates, *Defence*, p.22.

<sup>27</sup> Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.56. Martyn Bennett, *Oliver Cromwell* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), p.162.

<sup>28</sup> Sir Roger Williams, *A Briefe Discourse of Warre* (London, 1590), p.3.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, p.27.

<sup>30</sup> J.X. Evans, ed., *The Works of Sir Roger Williams* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p.lxviii; Williams, *Discourse*, p.40.

<sup>31</sup> Robert Barret, *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (London, 1598), pp.8/9.

<sup>32</sup> Sir Roger Williams, *The Actions of the Low Countries* (London, 1618), p.9.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, p.28.

cause, and blinded the Spanish in their affaires'.<sup>34</sup> He may have stated to Henri IV that 'there can be no greater trial of constancy in this world than religion', but this comment would have been a reaction to that monarch's conversion to Catholicism, and Williams knew Henri well and saw him as a military comrade who was switching sides for political reasons.<sup>35</sup> Williams was aware that the 'cause' to the Dutch was not necessarily always driven by religion: he speaks of 'a number of Papists honest patriots,<sup>36</sup> who loved the Prince of Orange, principally because they knew that he and his hated the Spaniards'.<sup>37</sup> He goes on to say:

Although the Prince [of Orange] were of the religion, his promise was to grant liberty of conscience being victorious: for which cause he carried many thousand hearts more than he should have done otherwise. In those daies few of the popular were of the religion, but all in generall hated the Spanish deadly.<sup>38</sup>

Williams mentions the Protestant/Catholic ratio in the Netherlands more than once, stressing that in the early years of the revolt 'most of the popular were Papists'.<sup>39</sup> There was, therefore, an element of toleration towards Catholics during the revolt in the Netherlands, but it was inconsistent and localised. In Hulst, the civilian population included in their conditions of surrender the right for Catholics to worship in their own church, and this was granted by Prince Maurice as he 'would not check an individual's conscience',<sup>40</sup> and after the Spanish defeat in the 'citty of Breda, now and alwaies the exercise of the Catholique Romish Religion shalbe publikly taught in the great Church',<sup>41</sup> but at Nieumegen a similar request was denied.<sup>42</sup>

Protestantism in the Netherlands, like the Empire and the British Isles, was far from a unified force. Churchyard told his readers of the events in Antwerp in 1566:

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid, p.30. Evans quotes an anecdote 'as a perfect example of his whole-hearted Protestantism' (*Works*, p.lxiv), but notwithstanding Williams lacks the open religious zeal of Geoffrey Gates.

<sup>35</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.lxxiii.

<sup>36</sup> The soldier and engineer Paul Ive also describes the States General's army as 'the Patriotes'; Paul Ive, *The Practise of Fortification* (London, 1589). The word is defined as 'a person who loves his or her country, esp. one who is ready to support its freedoms and rights and to defend it against enemies or detractors', and the etymology includes usage by the Earl of Leicester in connection with the Dutch (1587), Ben Jonson in *Volpone* (1607) and the King James Authorized Version of the Bible (1611): *OED*.

<sup>37</sup> Williams, *Actions*, p.33.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p.34.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p.62.

<sup>40</sup> Anthonis Duyck, *Het Journaal van Anthonis Duyck*, ed. Lodewijk Mulder ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1862-6), I, p.54; 'dat men niemant in sijn conscientie en soude ondersoucken'.

<sup>41</sup> Henry Hexham, *A True and Briefe Relation of the Famous Seige of Breda* (Delft, 1637), *The Articles of Composition*, p.5.

<sup>42</sup> Duyck, *Journaal*, I, p.63.

...a vile cunning and unchristian brute was raised, that the Calvinists would cut the Martinists throtes: on which false brute, in one night the Protestants lost much more than ten thousand men, who joyned as they might with the Papists...<sup>43</sup>

Regardless of the sincerity of the claim, the religious cause was always a sound way of boosting the argument, and it could certainly be added for effect. It was the apparent view of the second Earl of Essex that fighting foreign wars was a religious crusade, and England's wealthy subjects ought to submit their 'superfluous expenses' in order to resist conquest:

Did the godly Kings and religious people, which wee read of in the old Testament, to maintaine warre, against the enemies of God, sell the ornaments of the Temple, and the things consecrated to holy uses? and shall wee that have as holy a warre spare those things we have dedicated to our owne idle, and sensuall pleasures?<sup>44</sup>

### The Anglo-Dutch Protestant bond

By using contemporary sources we can build up a picture of the role of religion in the English forces in the Low Countries. Despite acts of violence and treachery such as the 'English Fury' at Mechelen in 1580 and the betrayal of Lier in 1582,<sup>45</sup> there was nevertheless a religious tradition connecting Britain and the Netherlands. This was particularly so in the Northern provinces as the historical trading links between them were strengthened by the Protestantism that developed in both areas during the sixteenth century, and as a result many English and Scottish churches had been established in the Low Countries.<sup>46</sup> This 'Christian Common-wealth' was a tradition that authors describing the military experience sought to emphasise.<sup>47</sup> Simon Adams has described the Leicester expedition as something close to a Puritan crusade and suggested that the soldiers who

<sup>43</sup> Churchyard, *True Discourse*, p.9.

<sup>44</sup> George Harwood, *Certaine Choise and Remarkable Observations etc* (London, 1642), page between E2 and E3.

<sup>45</sup> Sir John Norris allowed his troops to plunder Mechelen without restraint: P.-J. van Doren, ed., *Inventaire des Archives de la Ville Malines*, Vol V (Malines, 1868), Letters MLX, MLXII, MLXIII, MLXIV; Guido Marnef, *Het Calvinistisch Bewind te Mechelen, 1580-85* (Kortrijk: UGA, 1987). The Scots Catholic Sir William Sempill handed Lier over to the Spaniards: Anthoon Bergmann, *Geschiedenis der Stad Lier* (Lier, 1973), pp.243-252. ODNB: Sir William Sempill. David Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p.54.

<sup>46</sup> There were also many exiles from the Netherlands in England; the Jacobean Norwich Militia included 325 Dutch and 282 Walloon commanders in 1611. Mark Charles Fissel, *English Warfare 1511-1642* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p.177. For the extent of Dutch and Walloon migration to England see Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp.4-5 and *passim*.

<sup>47</sup> Henry Hexham, *A True Souldiers Councel: An Experimental Discovery Of Spanish Practises* (London, 1624) p.9.



deployed with him were largely religiously driven (notwithstanding the presence of some Catholics), part of his group of 'friends', and that the religious commitment of this force was the precursor, the lead as it were, for the men who were to follow after.<sup>48</sup> As the revolt progressed, soldiers came to make a substantial contribution to the size of congregations in various locations on either a temporary or more permanent basis.<sup>49</sup> By the middle of the seventeenth century some forty English language churches had been founded with ministers who had lost their livings at home for their non-conformism.<sup>50</sup> Separatist and non-separatist, Protestants of various shades were represented, and all of them adapted to some extent in order to exist peaceably alongside their Dutch hosts. Often in the case of Presbyterian churches the Dutch provided financial assistance, so it would have been unwise to offend them and risk cutting off crucial funding.<sup>51</sup> Although the States General of some provinces often adopted policies of religious toleration (notably in Holland), the Dutch Reformed Church, official religion of the emergent nation, was critical of the Church of England, and under this umbrella the non-conformist English churches could harbour from the long and interfering arm of Church of England officialdom emanating from either Canterbury or the English Ambassador in The Hague. Churches appeared in many places, serving the English and Scottish communities that permanently resided there. Other churches, often temporary, supported the military garrisons that ebbed and flowed with the strategic situation. Many of the ministers in these Anglo-Scottish churches were considered to be 'Puritan'. The term 'Puritan,' notwithstanding the broadness or vagueness of its meaning, is generally used through lack of alternatives to describe those in opposition to the centralizing policies of the Church of England, whether separatist or non-separatist, and the meaning developed impetus, from Dudley's anti-Spanish, security-minded political usage, to the Laudian pejorative rhetoric of some decades later. Indeed, the very broadness of the term may reflect the breadth of belief within Britain. The irony regarding the management of these churches from the Laudian perspective is that had these ministers not been expelled from their livings in England, they would not have been available to promote their Puritanism abroad. Had the Netherlands not received such large numbers of Englishmen into their territory in their various guises, there would have been no employment for the Puritan preachers anyway. One fed the

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<sup>48</sup> Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan politics* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1987), p.190.

<sup>49</sup> 'The army...was to form the largest single element in the English community in the United Provinces and the dominant influence in the English Church there'. Adams, 'Protestant Cause', p.68.

<sup>50</sup> Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism* (Leiden: Brill, 1982), p. ix.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, p.7.

other, and there was very little effective action the English government could take to combat it.

Scots intermingled with English, both as congregants and as ministers, and the relationship between the nations was sometimes amicable, sometimes less so. Perhaps this was dependant on the personality of the minister, but often relations became strained through the issues that marked the different traditions and religious development of the two nations. The church in Amsterdam, although referred to as the English Reformed Church, had many Scots members who seemed to worship there contentedly. In Rotterdam, a third of the congregation was Scots and they remained part of the English Reformed Church until 1642 when, probably as a result of the deteriorating situation in Britain and the subsequent Independent/Presbyterian debate, they formed their own congregation.<sup>52</sup> The Anglo-Scots community at Dort was served by Scots, Dutch and English ministers consecutively, there apparently being no disunity among the congregation. Middelburg served the English merchant community, while Scots merchants tended to settle a few miles away at Veere, traditional staple port of the Scots since at least the middle of the fifteenth century. After 1621, with the departure of the Merchant Adventurers leaving a much smaller congregation, the Middelburg church had to re-invent itself, and it did so with English and also Scottish members, despite the presence of Veere in close proximity.<sup>53</sup>

If the civilian element was the first to require English language church services in the Netherlands, and continued to require them at the end of hostilities, in between – for eighty years – it was the soldiery who often provided the most souls. Like the civilian population, the majority was English, but a substantial number of Scottish soldiers were also present, despite their heavy commitment during the 1620s and 1630s to the Thirty Years' War. Garrisons with a high concentration of troops set up churches. In Breda, prior to the Spanish occupation of 1625, the English and the Scots shared the same building but hired chaplains from their respective nations. When the Spanish lost Breda in 1637, to the English-Scottish split in the church there was added the Laudian-Puritan controversy. The English brought in Richard Dell, a conforming minister, while the Scots hired Patrick Forbes, who was to become a Scottish National Covenanter. Dell would read diligently from the Prayer Book, while Forbes would preach directly against it. Dell was

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid, p.175.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, pp. 187-9; 206-211.

heckled and harangued ceaselessly by Forbes, who also mobilized the French Protestants against Dell; neither were all Englishmen inclined to listen to him, preferring to attend the Scottish services, until Boswell, Ambassador in The Hague, ordered Forbes to refuse entry to any English soldiers.<sup>54</sup> English and Scottish regiments employed their own chaplains of a persuasion acceptable to each Colonel, so disturbances of this nature in the field were often avoided.<sup>55</sup> Generally reflecting the Puritanism that had 'rooted itself deeply in the army' in the Netherlands,<sup>56</sup> nevertheless according to one eyewitness the chaplains were drawn from each end of the Protestant religious spectrum. Thomas Raymond, one-time soldier on the march with the English contingent of the army of the Prince of Orange in 1633, gives us this account:

Every Sunday morneing a sermon [was] preached by the chaplayne to the regiment, which was then one Mr. Day, a good schollar but a better good fellow. The whole service being according to the Dutch mode i.e. reading 2 or 3 psalmes, then a chapter, next a Psalme sung, and then to the pulpett, where he began with a long prawer of his owne.<sup>57</sup>

Mr. Day may be the Gamaliel Day that Keith Sprunger has traced to English troops in the area. According to Sprunger, Day 'aspired to use some parts of the Prayer Book in his services',<sup>58</sup> but, possibly because of his colonel's objection, he apparently does not do so with Raymond's unit. On the other hand, that Mr. Day presented his sermons in the Dutch fashion did not appear to categorise him as particularly Puritan to this Englishman. Raymond spoke at some length about the Arminian champion Grotius, whom he describes as that 'great and excellent scholar', and blames 'phanatiks' for keeping him out of England.<sup>59</sup> The other chaplains with Raymond were of a distinctly non-Puritan flavour:

Mr. Goffe...an excellent scholler and a good fellow...He afterwards during the rebellion in England...became a Roman Catholic...Another of our army chaplaynes, whose name I have now forgotten but have heard him often preach in the army, I met 2 yeres after this, travailing to Rome in a Pilgrymes habit.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid, pp. 268-272.

<sup>55</sup> 'Their expenses were met by pay from the regimental officers', *ibid*, p.262.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, p.264.

<sup>57</sup> Thomas Raymond, *Autobiography of Thomas Raymond and the Memoirs of the Family of Guise of Elmore, Gloucestershire*, ed. G. Davies (London: Royal Historical Society, Camden Third Series, Vol.XXVII, 1917), p.37.

<sup>58</sup> Sprunger *Dutch Puritanism*, p.299.

<sup>59</sup> Raymond, *Autobiography*, p.35.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, p.38. Stephen Goffe was a well-known high Anglican in the Netherlands who pictured himself as 'a martyr for Anglicanism.' Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, p.132.

Long-term garrison towns, however, would employ a permanent minister. Such was the case in Flushing, an English cautionary town from 1585 until 1616. Here for its last eleven years until the town was handed back to the Dutch, the minister was one Thomas Potts, as aggressively Puritan as Dell was placidly conformist. Potts became unpopular with the officers for frequently supporting the cause of the common soldier, and regaling the officers for their moral deficiencies.<sup>61</sup>

In Utrecht, the Scotsmen John Douglas (former chaplain to the Englishmen Colonel John Ogle and Colonel Edward Cecil, although he evidently fell out with the latter) and George Clark endeavoured to bring the civilians and all the officers of the military units together 'to make up more formally one Body without schisme'.<sup>62</sup> English, Scots, civilian and military; all worshipping together without argument – rather a tall order, and unsurprisingly it did not work. The civilians were unsatisfied that the chaplains went into the field during the campaign season leaving them un-provided for. There were also apparently 'tensions' between the English and Scots so that, from 1622, the church sought assistance from the Dutch to set up on their own and employ their own minister. This they were successful in achieving, although many soldiers remained in the congregation. Relations between the military and civilian elements of the town could not have improved when, in 1626 the minister was murdered in the street by a soldier from Cecil's regiment.<sup>63</sup> Throughout the remainder of the war the church in Utrecht continued to show a visible divide between the civilian and military elements and between the English and Scottish, as one group never held a clear majority over the other.<sup>64</sup>

## Polemics

How did military contemporaries engage with religious issues in Europe? The Protestant-Catholic dichotomy was a far easier and safer debate for an English layman to engage in, particularly as the Puritan and Presbyterian controversies grew deeper and more emotional as the sixteenth century moved into a new century that presented problems of growing political and social complexity that, in the British Isles, were to result eventually in the Civil Wars. A fictional discussion published towards the end of James I's reign

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<sup>61</sup> Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, p.198.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p.213.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p.216. The minister was the Puritan writer Thomas Scott, see below.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p.225.

placed in the mouths of soldiers the issue of political and religious loyalty. The work states the case for fighting for the Protestant and dynastic cause whilst disparaging those

who would fight for the Papist and Spanish enemy. Written by Captain Henry Hexham,<sup>65</sup> a man who described himself as 'a protestant and a Souldier',<sup>66</sup> *Tongue-Combat* is not only a strong argument linking Protestantism with patriotism but can also be seen as a personal vindication of Hexham's choice of vocation.<sup>67</sup> Many of the themes and issues of English involvement in the Eighty Years' War are covered in the debate, amongst them the 'truth of the Reformed Religion'. Hexham believed he could now urge others to follow his example: 'It concernes all Sword-men to sticke to mee, and to vindicate the honour of our deceased Queene, our present Souveraigne, Religion, the British Nation in generall.' Here religion and nation are brought together under the present sovereign but with due diffidence to the Queen due, presumably, to her active engagement with the enemy and a nod to the present government to follow her example. It is a duty for all men to raise up, now, or face the wrath of Christ:

It is now a time or never to declare ourselves, and stand together for the truth of Religion herein oppugned: which hee that shrinkes from, for any wordly or politicke respect, or any Antichristian ayme, and temporary temptation, shall surely be denyed hereafter of Christ Jesus, who will publicquely professe to be ashamed of them before God, who are ashamed of him before men, and to spue those lukewarm persons out of his mouth, whom the sudden and unexpected alarum of bold, daring, and desperate opposition to Falsehood, will not awaken from that stupide Lethargie...wherein they lye bed-rid, to be as couragious for Truth, as other men are for lyes, in this Age of Atheisme. The Lord by his spirit kindle this zeale in our hearts for his Cause...<sup>68</sup>

Now or never? Stand together? What made Hexham write in this vein? Given the political situation in England at the time, with growing public impatience over apparent

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<sup>65</sup> The British Library has the work attributed to Thomas Scott, but Hexham signed the Epistle Dedicatory, in which he hopes the dedicatee, Sir George Holles, will 'protect my pen,' indicating the work is his. Thomas Scott, 1580-1626, one time chaplain to James I, was author in 1620 of the anti-Spanish tract *Vox Populi* which cost him his job, wherein Gondomar is portrayed as attempting to bring England into subjection to Spain through the marriage of the Infanta to Charles. The ambitions of Spain as a power bent on conquest over both the Netherlands and England is a strong theme in *Tongue-Combat*.

<sup>66</sup> Henry Hexham, *A Journall of the taking in of Venlo, Roermont, Strale, the memorable siege of Mastricht, the Town & Castle of Limburch under the able, and wise Conduct of his Excie: the Prince of Orange, Anno 1632* (Delft, 1633), Epistle Dedicatory.

<sup>67</sup> Hexham, *Tongue-Combat*, whereby 'Tawny Scarf,' the Protestant, discusses topical issues with 'Red Scarf,' the Catholic. The book predictably supports the Protestant view, 84 per cent of the discussion being voiced by Tawny Scarf with Red Scarf at times reduced to providing just the odd provocative comment. By the time Hexham wrote the dedication, and probably the book itself, he had served the States-General for at least 22 years.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, Epistle Dedicatory.

royal indifference to the religious affairs of Europe and an unpopular friendship with Spain, this may be a direct, incautious appeal for support for the Protestant cause in the Palatinate:

The King's children, Religion, the Reformed Church, suffered ship-wracke, by the insulting, cruell, and bloudy Spaniard; and many thousands of Christians were martyred after a barbarous and butcherly manner...yea whilst they were kissing the one cheeke of our King, they were smiting the other; kissing the Prince, as if they meant to deifie him, and give him all theirs; smiting his royall, loving, and lonely Sister, and by force taking away all that was hers.<sup>69</sup>

The nation had been offended through the ridicule of its ruling dynasty, and this adds to the case, but it is not central. This is about the cause of true religion, a call for English and Dutch Protestants to unite against the Papal Antichrist. It is possible that Hexham may just have provided the book-buying public with what they wanted, such was the unpopularity of James' foreign policy. However, when considering Hexham's work as a body, it is clear that the author followed a strong religious line; the religious tone is undeniable. The year following *Tongue-Combat* (1624) Hexham published *A True Souldiers Councel*, where he boldly and directly informed James I that he 'ought to be well-advised, before you stray from the pathes of your predecessours', and his advice was strongly 'against this mischievous and poisonous peace with Spain'.<sup>70</sup> 1624 was to see a radical shift in Stuart foreign policy away from Spanish entente to one of open war, a shift that some historians have deemed sufficiently drastic to term revolutionary,<sup>71</sup> but at the time of publication *Tongue-Combat* was certainly voicing views contrary to the extant royal policy that *A True Souldiers Councel* openly criticised, although both works were reflective of popular opinion. 1623 was indeed a momentous year, witnessing one of those rare events in history that can justifiably be labelled truly remarkable as Prince Charles returned from a dramatic but unsuccessful visit to Madrid to woo the King of Spain's daughter, the Infanta Maria. In light of these events and the reaction of the population, across the social spectrum and in all areas of the kingdom,<sup>72</sup> *Tongue-Combat* can be seen as reflecting a very relevant debate and highlighting a topical issue, that is physical, military support for the Dutch Protestants against the Catholic King of Spain, an issue that it would seem drew strong support throughout the country. James I had disappointed European Calvinists by

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid, p.70.

<sup>70</sup> Hexham, *A True Souldiers Councel*, pp.28; 45.

<sup>71</sup> Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-24* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>72</sup> CSP Venetian, 1623, p.132.

promoting a pro-Spanish policy, embracing leniency towards Catholics at home and refusing to commit militarily against the Emperor. But James' policy was aimed at appeasing both sides; far from being the warrior king, champion of the Protestant cause, he had taken the non-military role of mediator yet nevertheless allowed some 13,000 of his subjects to remain in service with the States General, a third of the Dutch standing army, while concurrently allowing Spain to recruit amongst British Catholics so that there remained some 4,000 British troops in the Spanish Army of Flanders.<sup>73</sup>

Sir Roger Williams had warned in 1585 that the Spanish 'mean either to perish or to be in England'.<sup>74</sup> Spain continued to be viewed by a large section of the English political nation as an aggressively expansionist state, that despite its legitimate claim to the Netherlands through dynastic inheritance, still required to stamp a harsh, physical (military) and unswervingly Catholic presence on its territories:

Thus the insulting Spaniard thinkes it is not enough, or any thing worth, to have the addition of Countries by accesse of marriage or any other title, except also hee comes in by a kinde of Conquest; or, being let in upon termes of peace, proceed to fasten upon all by force as a Conquerour; otherwise hee thinkes hee cannot lord it enough, and there is some disparagement to his invincible arrogancie. Let Arragon and Portugal at home, and Naples and these parts abroad, be witness of this truth, as also every other place whereupon he sets the print of his feet; let the first conditions of his entry be what they will, the yssue is Conquest, and the worst that Conquest can doe.<sup>75</sup>

England could not rest easy, the memory of the Armadas was slow to fade,<sup>76</sup> and political ambition was constantly linked with religious motivation:

How hath Spaine gotten superioritie over his neighbour-Nations; how hath he made many intrusions upon Savoy, Navarre, France, Italy? How upon the East and West Indies? How upon Ireland, and how upon England also, whose purse he would have taken, whilst you and yours were setters and plotters for the purchase?...Is this Catholic doctrine?<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Simon Adams, 'Spain or the Netherlands? The Dilemmas of Early Stuart Foreign Policy', in Howard Tomlinson, ed., *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1983), p.85.

<sup>74</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.xxv.

<sup>75</sup> Hexham, *Tongue-Combat*, p.23.

<sup>76</sup> For instance, Hugh Peters in a publication of 1631 compares the victorious action of that year with the Armada of 1588: '...the Lord can rule and guide, dispatch and overcome workes of this nature so well; since hee hath thus graciously appeared in 31 as formerly in 88...' Hugh Peters, *Digitus Dei*, final page.

<sup>77</sup> Hexham, *Tongue-Combat*, p.91.

To Hexham at least, the Englishmen who fought in foreign lands did so with sound moral reason, and he trusted the 'wisdom of the States General' to look well upon those English soldiers and 'to use them not as meere mercenarie and salarie Souldiers, but nobly, freely, and bountifully as Natives'.<sup>78</sup>

Hexham had also written accounts of actions in the Netherlands, and it is noteworthy that this seventeenth-century soldier brings religion into his writings far more frequently than Sir Roger Williams and Sir Francis Vere, attributing much to God's providence:

About this tyme it was a very wet season, & greate store of Raine fell, so that the River swelled, and the Enemye could not forde it over, till our works, double entrenchments, Ditches, Skonces, Ravelings, and halfe-Moones on the other side of the River, were defensible, which made us believe, that as God fought for us before the Busse ['s Hertogenbosche] with drye weather, so now hee did the like by wett weather, & made the heavens to favour us.<sup>79</sup>

That prayers were also part of the camp routine is borne out by other contemporary writings: Thomas Raymond commented on the regular church sermons with the Dutch army (above), and François de La Noue also utilised religious instruction to encourage discipline.<sup>80</sup> Hexham adds to our knowledge by showing that for those who faced imminent danger, it was important to impress that God was an ally if one invoked his support:

This night wee also had orders, that those Companyes which had the watch in the approches, should draw in *Parado* every night to the quarter of the Colonell that commanded, to sing a Psalme, and hear Prayers.<sup>81</sup>

Rather than just acknowledge the intervention of the Almighty in off-hand, figure-of-speech phrases in the manner of Sir Roger Williams, Hexham's gratitude takes the form of prayer:

Thus it pleased God to heare the prayers of his faithfull ones, and to honour the Land, and his Excie: so, that in the sight of these two Armies which did beleaguer us on the one side, to take this citie of Mاسترخت, and to send his Excie: home (maugre our Ennemies) with Victorie, to this God the Author & giver off all

<sup>78</sup> Hexham, *Tongue-Combat*, p.104.

<sup>79</sup> Hexham, *Venlo*, p.13.

<sup>80</sup> John S. Nolan, *Sir John Norreys and the Elizabethan Military World* (University of Exeter, 1997), p.11.

<sup>81</sup> Hexham, *Venlo*, p.7.



Victorie be given Everlasting praises, Amen.<sup>82</sup>

### Religion and the Holy Roman Empire

Religion was hotly disputed in most of north-west Europe in the seventeenth century as the Counter-Reformation took effect, and Britons served wherever soldiers were required, in central Europe as well as in France and the Netherlands. The Empire was a far larger geographical area than the Netherlands, with a more complex political structure,<sup>83</sup> and it lacked the concentration of British civilians that were found in the Low Countries. The headquarters of the English Merchant Adventurers was, from 1611, located in Hamburg, but this was the only established British church in Germany and remained outside the areas occupied by armies. Thus Britons who served in Germany did so with no imported English or Scottish spiritual infrastructure to support them, and so made their way as best they could, either as individuals or formed units, as strangers in an alien world. From soldiers' publications we can discern some information about recruitment and its underlying motivation.

Many Scots were drawn to the Thirty Years' War. Sir James Turner may have initially departed his native Scotland

to be, if not an actor, at least a spectator of these warrs which at that time made so much noyse over all the world, and were managed against the Roman Emperour and the Catholicke League in Germanie, under the auspicious conduct of the thrice famous Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden.<sup>84</sup>

He goes on to explain how he immersed himself in the religious debates of the day. Interpreting his message is a challenge. Before leaving Scotland he was careful to read 'the controversies of religion betweene us and the Roman Catholickes...whereby I might

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<sup>82</sup> Hexham, *Venlo*, p.35. For the relationship between military units and formal prayers and worship in the Parliamentary armies during the English Civil War, a more emotionally charged religious environment, see Anne Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains 1642-1651* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, The Boydell Press, 1990).

<sup>83</sup> For a succinct synopsis of the political complications of the Empire, see C.V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years' War* (London: Pimlico, 1938), pp. 32-41.

<sup>84</sup> Sir James Turner, *Memoirs of Sir James Turner*, ed. by T. Thompson (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, XXVIII, 1829), p.4.

discern the truth of the Protestant persuasion and the fallacies of the Popish one'.<sup>85</sup> By the time he returned home he 'had swallowed without chewing, in Germanie, a very dangerous maxime, which militarie men there too much follow; which was, that so we serve our master honnestlie, it is no matter what master we serve'. This admission, however, refers to his decisions on leaving Germany and may have been an attempt at the time of writing to excuse his Covenanting past to a Royalist present.<sup>86</sup> During the Thirty Years' War he consistently served the Protestants and did not change sides. It was on arrival at Millstrand, in Norway, on returning home that his dilemma struck; whether to board the ship bound for Hull and King Charles or the one bound for Leith and the Covenanters. 'I resolved to go with the ship I first encountered,' says he, declaring he would 'serve either the one or the other without any reluctance of mind'.<sup>87</sup>

Sydenham Poyntz trod a contrary career path: he served several masters when abroad but only one when at home, that is, until his dismissal. Religious motivation seems largely absent. His is a predominantly secular account of his experience of the Thirty Years' War which, for the most part, could reflect a man of no particular faith.<sup>88</sup> He fought briefly for the Catholic Spanish Army of Flanders before moving on to join the Protestant John George of Saxony, whom he served both for and against the Emperor, finally joining the Catholic Imperial army in Hesse. From the start, he was not motivated by any spiritual calling.<sup>89</sup> His change of allegiance tallies with what is already known, as in the Empire soldiers often changed sides, perhaps joining the enemy as a consequence of defeat, perhaps through accepting an offer of improved pay or conditions. Colonels and captains turned their coats under the term 'change of service, a process undertaken with dizzying frequency,' so unsurprisingly 'army commanders never asked after the faith of their officers and men'.<sup>90</sup> Generally Poyntz speaks little of religion, and God is seldom mentioned, although He is thanked for protecting Poyntz at Lützen: 'I trust God did see my heart and preserved mee from death in that great battaile (wherin so many did perish)'.<sup>91</sup> However, Poyntz lived through an era of heightened religious passion, both in Germany and on his return to England, and where he does expand on the religious theme his remarks are noteworthy:

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid, p.3.

<sup>86</sup> ODNB: Sir James Turner.

<sup>87</sup> Turner, *Memoirs*, p.14.

<sup>88</sup> A.T.S. Goodrick, ed., *The Relation of Sydenham Poyntz 1624-1636* (London: Royal Historical Society, Camden Third Series, Vol. XIV, 1908).

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, p.128.

<sup>90</sup> Golo Mann, *Wallenstein, His Life Narrated*, trans. Charles Kessler (London: Andre Deutsch, 1976), p.281.

<sup>91</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.75. According to Poyntz some 45,000 lost, p.74.

Out of his zeale to Gods Church, the Emperour thinking to doe in the Provinces of Germany, that which hee had donne in Austria and other his owne Inheritance viz. get all or most of the Religious Land to bee laid to their houses againe as formerly it had bene before the Warres: but the case was altered, for the Warres had turned them to be most mens Inheritances and all that many Lay-men had to live on, and so would rather part with their lives then their livings; it went so farre that most of the Princes of Germanie were deeply touched therein, yea Saxonie and Bavaria and most of them made a stiffe denyall of the motion, and seeing they had gotten them in these Warres by the sword, so they would hould them.<sup>92</sup>

Thus the Edict of Restitution,<sup>93</sup> and the aggressive reaction it provoked, succinctly summarized. As an Englishman, Poyntz was often on the 'wrong' side, in that anyone who fought for a Catholic master could be construed as colluding with the enemy. Poyntz portrayed himself as fighting loyally for the Emperor, void of religious connection,<sup>94</sup> but, having escaped from the Turks and having met a party that included a Franciscan friar, he writes:

At length they broke with mee which was the true Religion, which they proved to be no other, than that which is commonly called Papistry and their reasons were so strong joyned with such wonderfull humility and charity towards mee, that I could not chose but admit of it and follow their advise therein which was to bee made a member of that holy Church and wherein Gods grace I mean to dy ...<sup>95</sup>

Keen to defend his Protestant credentials during the English Civil War as a Parliamentary general, and by then secure in his Calvinist beliefs, he retrospectively denied any previous Catholic connection, saying:

There is one great mystery more concerning me revealed, which is that I am a Papist. Of all the rest I am least troubled at this Rumour, it being in the power of so many thousands to Vindicate me, who have been witnesses of my constant Profession which from my first years, according to the Instructions of this my native Countrey have been in the Reformed Protestant Religion.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.79.

<sup>93</sup> Edict of Restitution, 6 March 1629, whereby all lands reverted to their confessional status as at the Peace of Augsburg 1555. In effect, large tracts of land and the Free Cities, including the Lutheran Augsburg itself, would revert to Catholic administration and the principle of *cujus regio ejus religio*, that the ruler directs the religion of his populace, would ensure that many thousands of Protestants convert forcibly to Catholicism. A comprehensive account of the Edict is given in Wedgwood, *Thirty Years' War*, pp. 239-246, see also Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, pp. 88-9.

<sup>94</sup> Sydenham Poyntz, *The Vindication of Colonel General Poyntz* (London, 1646), partly reproduced at Annex B to Goodrick, *Relation*, p.145.

<sup>95</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.54.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*, p.145.

The two statements from the same author appear difficult to reconcile, despite the passage of time, although it must be stressed that his *Relation* was not produced for publication or a wide audience.<sup>97</sup> Perhaps he was temporarily influenced by gratitude. However, it may be significant that he was associating with English Catholics when he wrote the *Relation*; this would indicate a stronger link with Catholicism than his 'Vindication' admits of. That he fought on both sides may have given him some degree of difficulty later in life, but it would also support the view that at the time, in Germany, commanders were disinterested regarding the religion of their men.<sup>98</sup> This policy was underlined when Emperor Ferdinand II introduced his Edict of Restitution, which, although emphatic in its effect upon the civilian population, was not introduced into the army.<sup>99</sup> There was also a degree of secularism on the Swedish side: Monro went to some lengths to stress his own Protestantism, discussed below, but of his commander-in-chief, Gustavus Adolphus, he commented: 'his Majestie in all places he had taken in, suffered them the free libertie and use of their Religion untroubled', accepting Catholic soldiers into his army when the occasion arose.<sup>100</sup>

Not all individuals are so difficult to categorise as Turner and Poyntz: Robert Monro was a staunch Calvinist, and regarded himself as a soldier of Christ. His account makes frequent references to the importance of piety to a soldier's success, and his work finishes with the soldiers' 'Meditations,' twenty-four prayers to assist the Protestant Soldier of Christ. He advises the soldier to:

...make his acquaintance with God, that if adversitie come, he may be the bolder with his Maker, by prayer, which is the key to open heaven, and the meanes to remove our adverstite...While then we have peace, and quietnesse, I wish we may be familiar with this King of Kings, the Lord of Hosts, and say in particular, Thou art my King, O God, enter into his Tabernacle, and salute Jesus Christ thy Saviour and Redeemer.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> See Chapter One above.

<sup>98</sup> 'Colonel Hans Georg von Arnim, a Brandenburger by birth, served successively the King of Sweden, the King of Poland, Count Mansfeld, the King of Sweden again, the Emperor of Wallenstein, the Elector of Saxony, and again the Emperor. He was moreover an exception, not in changing his master like his clothes, but as a man given to serious, religious, political reflection.' Mann, *Wallenstein*, p.281; see also Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service*, p.146. Towards the end of the conflict, when even the Emperor had to accept the concept of religious toleration, the commander-in-chief of the Imperial army, Peter Melander, was a Calvinist; *ibid*, p.140.

<sup>99</sup> In the case of the Imperial Generalissimo Wallenstein, although he was forced to dismiss his civilian Protestant staff on his estates, in his army 'the Reform officials were not permitted to pry and he employed Protestant senior officers from start to finish.' Mann, *Wallenstein*, pp. 244/5.

<sup>100</sup> Robert Monro, *Monro: His Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment (called Mac-Keyes Regiment) levied in August 1626* (London, 1637), II, pp.103; 114.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid*, I, p.5.

Under Christian IV of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, Monro served Lutheran monarchs. He tells us that Gustavus Adolphus 'did make no difference betwixt Protestants [Calvinists] and Lutherans, but made use of them both'. Indeed, the Swedish King appears to have actively supported religious toleration, as 'we see His Majestie clemencie towards the Papists, in using no violence against them...[and he] was pleased to let them remaine untroubled in their consciences',<sup>102</sup> although Monro alleges Gustavus, had he lived, would have 'crossed the Alpes into Italie, and saluted the Pope within Rome'.<sup>103</sup> Calvinists and Lutherans had traditionally found it as difficult to get along with each other as with Catholics, but conditions of war softened their enmity.<sup>104</sup> No doubt Gustavus found it militarily productive to entertain all factions, but Monro makes no previous or further mention of the opposing Protestant camps, nor is any overt support given to Monro's particular favourite, excepting his comparison between religion and beer in which he confirms he lay closer to the Calvinist camp than any other: '[I]...tasted the good Calvinist beere at Serbest...my choice of all beeres is Serbester beere, being wholsomest for the body, and cleerest from all filth or barme, as their Religion is best for the soule, and cleerest from the dregs of superstition'.<sup>105</sup> His anti-Catholicism is evident, though mostly restrained. He speaks infrequently of Protestant designs, but when he does he is emphatic, and he could well have had an audience in mind of whom, like Hexham's, he could have anticipated applause:

Nothing earthly is more pleasant to be seene, than to see brethren in Christ conjoynd against Gods enemies, for advancing of the glory of God, in promoting of his Gospell, and for setting at libertie those poor soules (our brethren in Christ) that were kept long under the yoke and tyranny of the house of Austria, and the Catholic League their mortall enemies. Who would not then...be willing...to hazard their lives for the weale of the publique, yea more, for the promoting of Christs Gospell? Surely for my part, I was most willing...<sup>106</sup>

His anti-Catholicism is clearest when he speaks almost sympathetically of peasants riddled with superstition and driven by priests, describing them as

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid, II, p.77.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, I, p.6. This may refer to Gustavus' apparent ambition to become Emperor, traditionally crowned in Rome. Poyntz states that the Elector of Saxony 'was loth the King [of Sweden] should come to bee Emperour', and on another occasion opines that 'this great King...did strive to bee Emperour', Goodrick, *Relation*, pp.59; 73.

<sup>104</sup> Poyntz alleges John George of Saxony continued in enmity: '...quoth [John George], this old Emperour and himself were nerer farre in religion then any Calvinist of them all, for, quoth hee, the Calvinists hate both our Religions, and the Emperours Religion and myne differ but in small matters...' Ibid, p.79.

<sup>105</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.47.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, II, p.62.

ignorant Papist-Boores, that have no more knowledge of God, than to tell over their Beads, being taught, as their best devotion and knowledge of the mysteries of God tending to salvation, to glory in their ignorance, which makes many of them to commit any wickednesse whatsoever, to winne damnation to themselves, being once commanded by a Priest, that can make the poore ignorant beleieve, that to do wickedly is the way to heaven.<sup>107</sup>

Monro may have sincerely believed that he was hazarding his life for the salvation of his soul, but he was nevertheless following the tradition of his ancestors, his countrymen and his clan. The Scots had been involved in many wars over the centuries, and God was seldom the issue. Monro was a military man from a military family and nation; if he did not continue the tradition, little else offered itself to him. He may have justified his vocation on religious grounds, but the justification came after the event. Spiritual cause or not, he was a soldier, and soldiers required wars to employ them. When the clan chief called, he went.

### Apocalypticism in soldiers' writings

Historians have often drawn attention to the prevalence of apocalyptic thought during the period. Are there traces of this in soldiers' narratives? In the very first line of his semi-autobiographical novel *Simplicissimus*, set during the Thirty Years' War, Grimmelshausen says of the time in which he lived 'some believe [them] to be the last days'.<sup>108</sup> This belief in the coming apocalypse surfaces in the writings of British soldiers from time to time. Gates is renowned for his Protestant 'fiery ardour',<sup>109</sup> but it is unclear how much of his life he served as a soldier and whether he can be categorised as a professional or whether he remained an amateur 'gentleman volunteer'.<sup>110</sup> Prior to official engagement with the Spanish in the Netherlands, the period during which he served, Gates warned that England should 'waken it selfe out of senselesse securitie' and prepare for war, and the warning was unmistakably eschatological:

...a storme will come, and a tempest will fall: for at this present houre, the hand of the Lord God of hostes is in the seconde time for gathering together of the remnant of Israel: the yeere of his redeemed is come, and every kingdome that wil not serve

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, II, p.124.

<sup>108</sup> Johann Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen, *The Adventures of Simplicius Simplicissimus*, trans. Mike Mitchell (Sawtry: Dedalus, 1999), p.17.

<sup>109</sup> ODNB: Geoffrey Gates.

<sup>110</sup> See Chapter Four.

the Lord, shal utterly perish, from the earth; stand fast therefore, O ye people of England, for the sworde of the Almighty is drawne, and will not be put up till he hath confounded, and utterly consumed all the enemies of Jacob from the face of the earth for evermore.<sup>111</sup>

Despite Trim's comment that 'only Gates has such apocalyptic fervour',<sup>112</sup> he was not the only soldier of his age to regard the war in which he was involved from an eschatological viewpoint. In one paragraph, Thomas Churchyard relies heavily on Revelation in his condemnation of the Pope, whom he regarded as being in league with the King of Spain, and whose next target he perceived to be Queen Elizabeth of England:

This Antichrist, I say this Romish seaven headed, tenne horned, and triple crowned Dragon (whose taile draweth the third part of the stares from heaven and casteth them to the earth) presumeth to approch neere the woman, the Church of God, the defender of the faith, and watcheth wililie with inward and outward Serpentine malice to devour the innocent & harmless child: whereupon although this Dragon send forth his angels to war with this woman, though he send forth his Jesuits the English fugitives, whom he has [nursed?] up in Popish abomination manie yeeres, and though he againe likewise infect, and enforce the Locusts and Scorpions of the bottomlesse pit with his infernall furie...yet...these wicked Angels, Locusts and Scorpions...were overtaken by Gods power and providence, and cast out into the earth.<sup>113</sup>

Churchyard served the Protestant cause around Europe prior to the Treaty of Nonsuch, and in common with Gates offers, in this passage at least, a vehement defence of his involvement in warfare in eschatological terms. It may not be coincidental that both men were writing prior to the Treaty of Nonsuch and may have believed they had to provide solid grounds for engaging an enemy not formally recognised as such by the Queen. Such sentiments are rare, as although there are many references to religion by early modern military authors, few are so clearly eschatological. Henry Hexham's Protestantism was strong, as has been noted above, but there is only one paragraph that is overtly apocalyptic, and that in a religious translation rather than one of his military works:

...onely my ambition is...to have one flurt [a fencing foil – a fleuret] at Antichrist, and one push at the fall of the great whore of Babylon, and so much the rather, because mine eyes hath seene some of her fornications, which some others have but heard.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Gates, *Defence*, p.62.

<sup>112</sup> ODNB: s.n. Gates.

<sup>113</sup> Churchyard, *True Discourse*, p.68, quoting Revelation 12, 14, 15, 16.

<sup>114</sup> John Polyander, *A Disputation against the Adoration of the reliques of the Saints departed*, trans. Henry Hexham (Dordrecht, 1611), f.A3v.

Francis Markham, while not concerned with the imminent realisation of Revelation, nevertheless believed in the eventual fulfilment of biblical prophecy:

At the end of the world there shall bee warres and rumours of warres, and therefore howsoever we are now blest with an heavenly possession of Peace, yet we are but Tenants at will, and these secure times best fit martiall meditation.<sup>115</sup>

### The early modern understanding of honour, chivalry and virtue

According to Roger Manning, honour was chivalry in the medieval sense and ranked above everything else, including allegiance.<sup>116</sup> Sir John Hale, however, sees chivalry as having developed through the creation of knighthoods to the production of an elite corps who 'swore to be loyal above all to the ruler'.<sup>117</sup> These two interpretations are in contention, and the issue of honour can be analysed through soldiers' published works as a potentially major factor supporting the motivation of individuals to volunteer for combat. Did those who considered themselves honourable commit themselves to *their* ruler, to *a* ruler, or to an intrinsic system of behaviour wherein loyalty to the prince was secondary to the pursuit of personal reputation through feat of arms?

A middle English definition of 'honour' is given as 'high respect, esteem, deferential admiration, glory, credit, reputation, good name', and another as 'nobleness of mind and spirit, magnanimity, uprightness, adherence to what is right and correct according to some conventional or accepted standard of conduct'.<sup>118</sup> There are a variety of meanings here, and 'deferential admiration' (that an individual may declare towards his sovereign) would seem some distance from 'glory' (singularly linked with the battlefield). In the case of Gustavus Adolphus the two are combined as his men saw him as a 'brave warrior' as well as 'magnificent, wise, just, meeke, induced with learning, and the gift of tongues'.<sup>119</sup> These are dictionary definitions, and the writings of soldiers can be used to enhance them.

<sup>115</sup> Francis Markham, *Five Decades of Epistles of Warre* (London, 1622), p.3.

<sup>116</sup> Roger B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford University Press, 2003), p.62.

<sup>117</sup> J.R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe 1450-1620* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1985), p.37.

<sup>118</sup> *OED*; both are cited as Middle English. Other Middle English definitions for the noun are 'exalted rank or position; distinction; a source or cause of distinction; a person or thing which does credit to another'. Additionally, Honour, verb, 1. Pay respect or do honour to by some outward action; do homage to; ME-L17.

2. Regard with honour, respect highly, reverence; ME. 3. Confer honour upon, grace; ME.

<sup>119</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.57.



'Reputation' covers a wider range including a military context and is a word that occurred often in the writings of soldiers. Sir Roger Williams wrote of 'resolute valiant faithfull men of warre, that fought either for religion or reputation', while Sir John Ogle was concerned that the reputation of his general Vere would be 'plunged in greater extreimity' through the Ostend parley affair. Monro stated '...our care should bee onely for a perpetuall good name to leave behind us'.<sup>120</sup> Forming a reputation was in the forefront of a professional soldier's thoughts, and his wounds, 'the badge of the soldier', would bare evidence to his valour.<sup>121</sup> Monro, however, in an interesting slant on this subject was keen to substantiate the circumstances surrounding the receipt of a wound. He believed that some would draw a pension having contributed little to the war effort other than receive a wound. He cited the episode of one Colonel Axallily, a Swede, and an officer with 'no charge' but only present in the area of conflict during a visit to Gustavus Adolphus. He had his leg shot off by a random enemy canon round while sitting at the dinner table. Rather than sympathize with Axallily's condition, Monro considered it a matter of 'worldly lucke', commenting that the colonel 'before this, being but meane in estate and employment, was afterwards made rich by governments'. Clearly Monro believed this to be somewhat of an issue, as he adds: 'Divers others I could instance under our Armie, were advanced to riches, after receiving of meane hurts, and on meane occasions of service, as this was, being but a looker on'. Perhaps Monro can be forgiven this uncharitable perspective given that during the period of Colonel Axallily's visit his unit 'sustained more hurt than the rest of the Armie' and experienced 'great losse by [the enemy's] canon'.<sup>122</sup>

'Chivalry' is directly connected with medieval knights. It is concerned with 'knightly valour; a gallant exploit', although the idealism of the knight to include 'courtesy' and 'the inclination to defend or help a weaker party' is seen as a later modification to the theme.<sup>123</sup> Like all such terms, it is necessary to go beyond the modern dictionary definition.<sup>124</sup> It has been described as 'the duty to act honourably, even in

<sup>120</sup> Williams, *Discourse*, p.40; William Dillingham, ed., *The Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere* (Cambridge, 1657), p.149; Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.63.

<sup>121</sup> William Lithgow, *A True and Experimental Discourse upon the beginning, proceeding and Victorious event of this last siege Of Breda* (London, 1637), p.30.

<sup>122</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, pp. 95-96.

<sup>123</sup> OED.

<sup>124</sup> As Maurice Keen commented, chivalry '...is not a word that can be pinned down clearly and succinctly in a dictionary definition', *Chivalry* (New Haven and London: University of Yale Press, 1984), p.2.

war',<sup>125</sup> but this just leads us back to having to define 'honour'. Gates saw knighthood as 'an honour properly pertaining to chivalry', which in turn was attributable to the military profession and 'not to marchandize, nor to any other occupation'.<sup>126</sup> Virtue, at its most impressive, can imply 'superhuman or divine power'. At a lower level it can indicate 'physical strength, force or energy' and 'conformity of life and conduct with moral principles; voluntary adherence to recognized laws or standards of right conduct; moral excellence; uprightness'.<sup>127</sup> Thomas Adams thought that those who chose to do nothing, in the military sense, could be considered failing in virtue, and those who supported military preparedness could bring in virtue as a factor to criticise those who did not: 'The standing water turnes to putrefaction, And virtue is no virtue but in action'.<sup>128</sup>

Francis Markham was one early modern professional soldier who published a lengthy definition of honour.<sup>129</sup> Given the considerable time he had spent in combat, and compared with the main sources that make significant direct or indirect comment on the issue, his work is most disappointing in that he fails to mention honour in relation to warfare to the point of seeming to purposefully ignore it. Perhaps he did not wish to highlight his martial prowess to the many civilian dedicatees as each chapter, referred to as an 'epistle', is dedicated to a high ranking government or church official. He considered there to be two types of honour: divine and 'humane' (although, confusingly, he also subdivides the latter into 'ecclesiasticall' and 'temporall').<sup>130</sup> The first was in the domain of religion but also attributable to kings who were anointed by God and therefore had the power to confer honour of either category on others. To Markham 'honour is an Ensign or badge by which soever that is honoured, is known to have gotten an opinion of well doing', it is '...nothing but the reward of Vertue'.<sup>131</sup> But his divine honour is expressed as an offering, the height of the 'deferential admiration' discussed above, and phrases such as '...by giving of God his divine honour...' and recommendations to '...kneele before God, and offer him their prayers with zeale and thankesgiving' articulate a standard Christian practice.<sup>132</sup> While he mentions reputation ('...he ever is accounted cruell to himself, that is carelesse of his reputation...'), he does not speak of forging it on the

<sup>125</sup> Theodor Meron, *Bloody Constraint: War and Chivalry in Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.4.

<sup>126</sup> Gates, *Defence*, p.54.

<sup>127</sup> OED.

<sup>128</sup> Thomas Adams, *The Souldiers Honour* (London, 1617), p.18.

<sup>129</sup> Francis Markham, *The Booke Of Honour. Or, Five Decades Of Epistles Of Honour* (London, 1625).

<sup>130</sup> Ibid, p.13.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, p.9.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid, p.6.

battlefield.<sup>133</sup> The first mention of war in connection with virtue is not until page 12; he then recites a tale of a fictional battle that was won through the efficacy of prayer and was therefore hardly a reflection of his own experience.<sup>134</sup> It would appear that Markham does use honour to separate ‘the Worthy from the Unworthy, the Vertuous from the Vitious, and the Noble from the Base and Vulgar’, despite his plea to the contrary.<sup>135</sup> Any mention of warfare is classical, biblical or historical, and there is no claim of fighting for honour, in the cause of religion or otherwise. This treatise is about the social order, an obsequious effusion on the efficacy of the system, and the entire work is sandwiched between his declaration on the absolute authority of the king: Charles, to whom Markham states in his Epistle Dedicatory, is ‘the only one that is only [sic] the absolute King’ and his final epistle where he comments ‘an Absolute King – whome above all estates in the world I most adore’.<sup>136</sup>

Richard Jones published *A Booke of Honor* in 1590 with a dedication to Sir Christopher Hatton. However Jones was a printer and a member of the Stationer’s Company with an interest in aristocratic culture, not a soldier. The work has been attributed to Sir William Segar, who was not a soldier either, but a herald and scrivener.<sup>137</sup> A large part of this book is a history of the orders of ancient English and European knights, but unlike Markham’s it does have a martial theme, although much of it inclines to the duel, personal honour in relation to a ‘quarrell’ and the rules of challenges and tournaments, rather than warfare and fighting for any cause nobler than personal slight. Its role of honour contains many soldiers, but the author emphasises that the route to honour is not necessarily through arms but also open to ‘learned scollers’.<sup>138</sup>

A definition is one thing; its application another. How did honour rank alongside allegiance? Was it even on the same level and, if not, was it subordinate or superior to it? Honour was often presented subjectively by those who would use it to support their position or cause. It had been styled in the fifteenth century as either transmitted through blood and lineage and reflected on the battlefield, or earned through virtuous acts, the latter

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid, p.1.

<sup>134</sup> ‘...whosoever will bee a Founder of true Honour and Nobility, must not only give over vice, and Arts which are base and Mechanicall, but also apply himselfe to Vertue...and the Arts Liberall...by the first he shall know Warre, and her children...’; *ibid*, pp.11-12; 15-16.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid, p.33.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, Epistle Dedicatory and p.197. The term ‘absolute’ here is in the sense of answering to no other temporal power, like the princes of the Empire to the Emperor, or to the Pope. There are other references to monarchical government, see for instance pp.29-30.

<sup>137</sup> Sir William Segar, *Booke of Honor and Armes* (London, 1590). *ODNB*: Sir William Segar.

<sup>138</sup> Segar, *Booke of Honor*, pp.72; 101.

belief an Aristotelian viewpoint supported by contemporaries such as John Knox.<sup>139</sup> Although generally seen through a military lens, honour could be achieved away from the battlefield, but often it retained a close association with violence and its primary manifestation was through warfare. Traditionally honour was also connected with the aristocratic right to challenge the authority of a monarch, especially one who had behaved tyrannically. As such it undermined the concept of unconditional obedience. Tudor political centralisation and with it the insistence on loyalty to the monarch produced a challenge to this aristocratic prerogative and the tension this created was put to the ultimate test by the second Earl of Essex. If by the end of Elizabeth's reign the Essex revolt demonstrated that the political evolution of England had resulted in an alteration to the honour code, in that it had perceptibly moved towards the Hale definition and no longer allowed for aristocratic self-assertiveness that challenged the monarch, the Stuart period was to witness a return to aristocratic dissatisfaction through political frustration and disillusionment, only this time with a clearly polarised religious perspective that had not been a factor in the previous century.<sup>140</sup>

If aristocrats like the earls of Essex and Leicester took on military leadership because they believed their rank and position in society demanded it, and brought with them into war attitudes that conflicted with those of their monarch and created tension between them, the soldiers who provide material for this study were sufficiently down the social pecking order to be free of such pretensions. Indeed the appointment of Sir Francis Vere as sergeant-major general of the English field army in the Low Countries, although significantly not lieutenant general nor responsible for the garrison troops, may well have been to alleviate such tension. For all Motley's criticism of Vere regarding his immodesty,<sup>141</sup> Vere was appointed to do as he was bade by the Queen, and if he may have disagreed over tactical details with the high command in the Netherlands, he was never in a position to challenge the Queen over her policy or strategic direction, and faced her wrath if she ever perceived his deception.<sup>142</sup> These soldiers were known to and advised the princes they served, but were nevertheless a healthy distance from the presumption of dissidence towards their own monarch. Their view of honour was focused on the mud of

<sup>139</sup> Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture, From Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), pp.1; 4.

<sup>140</sup> Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp.308-314.

<sup>141</sup> J.L. Motley, *History of the United Netherlands*, 4 vols (London, 1876), IV, pp.48-51.

<sup>142</sup> Tracey Borman, 'Sir Francis Vere in the Netherlands, 1589-1603: A re-evaluation of his career as Sergeant Major General of Elizabeth I's troops', PhD thesis, University of Hull, 1997, pp.106; 246.

the trenches rather than the polished halls of the court. Sir Roger Williams was impressed with the 'valiant' battlefield performance of individuals and national groups,<sup>143</sup> and honour to him was encompassed in 'the honor of the poynt', the desire to be part of 'the first charge' in a battle or siege for which privilege units would throw dice.<sup>144</sup> Sir John Hamilton resigned from the army of Gustavus Adolphus after his troops had been refused such an honour at Wurtzburg when the Swedes were ordered to storm the enemy 'after he and his men had boldly hewn out a way for them'.<sup>145</sup> This comprehension of honour was to a great extent a separate issue to that of allegiance and the same code of honour could exist with those individuals whose loyalty was more fickle. For example, Sydenham Poyntz shared the code as he recounts an episode when he was beaten to first place on mounting a siege ladder:

[There] was a strife betwixt one and my self for one ladder, whether of us should goe up first, hee would have the first honour, & I would have it. Hee pleaded hee was my ancient in service and so hee was, and I let hym goe, a proper young man hee was and up hee went and I followed hym at heeles.<sup>146</sup>

Thus Poyntz, whose changes of side through his own words place him neatly into the 'mercenary' pigeon-hole, nevertheless displays the same attitude to battlefield honour as the morally upright Williams.

### The relationship between allegiance and honour

Historians have shown that Elizabeth I evoked a devotion to her person that manifested itself in several ways that her Stuart successors could not emulate.<sup>147</sup> The Virgin Queen became the object of romantic love, portrayed in the poetry of authors like Spenser and the masques that were enacted for and with her during her summer progress. Despite her reluctance to face many of the pressing issues of her age head-on, evidenced through her prevarication over engagement in the Dutch war and a cool position regarding further religious reformation, England's wealth had continued to grow under her long reign. The Armadas, not just of 1588 but also 1596-7 and 1599, had seen the nation pull

<sup>143</sup> Such as the 'Wallons and French which served most valiantly', and 'This Colonell was expert, valiant and vigilant', Williams, *Actions*, pp.80; 84. A general must be 'resolute and valiant', Williams, *Discourse*, p.1.

<sup>144</sup> Williams, *Discourse*, p.22. Monro too declared: 'I love a man that is modestly valiant', Monro, *Expedition*, I, p.21. For use of dice, see also Manning, *Swordsmen*, p.60.

<sup>145</sup> Grant, *Hepburn*, pp.29-30.

<sup>146</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.115.

<sup>147</sup> 'It was the Stuarts who had to pay the political bill for the exaltation of Elizabeth,' Lawrence Stone, *The Causes of the English Revolution 1529-1642* (London and New York: Routledge, 1986), p.89.

together in the face of a common, Catholic, enemy, through all of which she had shown her resolve as well as proven her Protestant credentials. Such an interpretation is supported by some of our sources. According to George Harwood, brother of the Low Countries' war veteran Colonel Sir Edward Harwood, writing a 1642 interpretation of the second Earl of Essex's ideas, Elizabeth had demonstrated a loyalty to her people that demanded reciprocity:

Wee, thankes be to God, have a Queene, who hath never beene wastfull in her private expence; yet will shee sell her plate, and jewels in the Tower, ere her people shall be undefended: We are a people that will turne our silken coats into iron Jacks, and our silver plate into coats of plate, rather then our Sovereign shall be unserved.<sup>148</sup>

Thus she became intrinsically and personally linked with patriotism in a unique manner. Elizabeth, it would appear, disliked soldiers, so military men faced a challenge that may have affected their response to her direction and fed any gender prejudice they may have harboured.<sup>149</sup> Attitudes towards her from military men were formed through a fusion of the ancient concept of a swordsman's 'honour' with the developing, and sometimes complex loyalty of the professional soldier. The first English soldiers to fight in the Low Countries did so without the authority of their monarch, the Queen saying that she would 'hang any Englishman in the service of Orange'.<sup>150</sup> These men could not, therefore, claim to fight for their own monarch or their own country's interest. They could, though, fight for the sake of religion, such as Gates and Churchyard above, or through their own individual sense of 'honour'. When Elizabeth finally gave her formal backing to the Dutch revolt, she enabled her soldiers to combine allegiance (to her), religion (Protestantism) and freedom (in destroying Spanish tyranny) to form a solid foundation for their noble 'cause', thus Manning overstates his case when he comments that Elizabeth's lack of support for European Protestants caused Sir Philip Sidney to 'transfer his loyalties to the Orangist cause'; in 1586 he was able to fight *within* the Orangist cause *for* his Queen.<sup>151</sup>

Elizabethans, then, after 1585 and until the end of the reign, were able to fight for a 'just' cause against a common enemy. The soldier Robert Barret was able to declare 'to all

<sup>148</sup> Harwood, *Observations*, between p.E and p.E2.

<sup>149</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.xxiii. Another historian commented 'Elizabeth was not friendly to soldiers': J.W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army Volume I* (London: Macmillan, 1910), p.157. However, Sir Robert Naunton commented that Elizabeth 'loved martiall men'; *Fragmenta Regalia* (London?, 1641), p.41.

<sup>150</sup> Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Les Huguenots et les Gueux, Tome VI*, May-June 1573 (Bruges, 1883-5). I am not aware that she ever did so.

<sup>151</sup> Manning, *Swordsmen*, p.65.

men of warre' in 1598: 'Let us love one another, that God may love us all, and give us true Martiall valour to the service and defence of our dread Sovereigne and deare Countrie,' just as the soldier Humfrey Barwick was able to talk of his 'duty towards my Sovereigne and Country'.<sup>152</sup> It was even said by those who fought on the 'wrong' side that they published their material in order for others to understand the enemy, thus the Catholic William Garrard could declare for 'the benefit of our Nation' his fourteen years with the Spanish as 'his chiefest cause'.<sup>153</sup> On one level at least, after 1585 Englishmen in the Low Countries who fought for the States General could now fight with clarity of purpose. Sir Francis Vere dealt with a disloyal Englishman harshly:

There marched of the enemy...seven or eight hundred men, amongst which was an English Gentleman, whom for his using unreverent and slanderous speeches of her Majestie I had long held in prison, out of which he had during that siege [of Deventer] made escape; he was excepted in the composition, taken from them, and executed...<sup>154</sup>

On another level, life could become more complicated. Vere had experienced accusations of conflicting loyalties, which were difficult to avoid given his situation in the Netherlands. Initially paid by the English treasury, he became highly esteemed by the United Provinces, who paid him well for his considerable services. Although Elizabeth approved these payments, he was at times accused of dragging his heels in her service in contrast to his active zeal with the Dutch.<sup>155</sup> His position being general of the English Queen's forces but in the pay of the States must have required substantial poise. Many actions and decisions, particularly the raising of troops, required the Queen's sanction. On being offered the command of Ostend by the States, Vere reports:

I...was by some principall persons of the State [i.e. States General] encouraged to accept the same, and to take upon me a journey into England to inform her Majesty of that purpose, and, with all the necessary circumstances, to frame her liking to the enterprise, and to induce her to the yielding of the succours of three thousand of her subjects to be levied, transported and paid at their own charge...<sup>156</sup>

It is probably significant that Vere retired from military service after the death of the Queen. It would not have been easy for a senior professional soldier who had had more

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<sup>152</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, third Epistle Dedicatory. Humfrey Barwick, *A Breefe Discourse, Concerning the force and effect of all manual weapons of fire, and the disability of the Long Bowe or Archery, in respect of others of greater force now in use* (London, 1592), frontispiece.

<sup>153</sup> William Garrard, *The Arte of Warre*, ed. Captain Robert Hichcock (London, 1591), Epistle Dedicatory.

<sup>154</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.19.

<sup>155</sup> ODNB: s.n. Sir Francis Vere.

<sup>156</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.118.

than a passing relationship with the Queen to have had any impact on the pacific new King, treating as James did with the Spanish and disinclined to involve himself with military affairs.<sup>157</sup>

Sir Roger Williams was a contemporary of Vere, albeit somewhat older.<sup>158</sup> When in France, he found himself in a similar position to that which Vere was to experience, and was caught between Elizabeth as 'our Sovereigne Lady and Mistrisse' and Henri IV as 'the Kings Majestie our maister'.<sup>159</sup> He was obliged to consider the reaction of his Queen prior to carrying out the orders given to him from the French King. On one occasion he moved his regiment into a position so ordered without consulting Elizabeth, which he may have got away with had the younger brother to the Earl of Essex not been fatally wounded during the operation. For this 'stupendous mistake' he had to beg forgiveness and was fortunate to come away with just the Queen's disfavour.<sup>160</sup> By his own account, when passing through Lier, in Brabant, on his way to back to England, Williams was brought before the *Maestro del Campo* Julian Romero, who offered him a position. This is a startling offer for us to comprehend – a request from the enemy to join him – but Williams accepted: 'Thus I did enter the Spaniards warres, and doo think it no disgrace for a poore Gentleman that lives by warres, to serve any estate that is in league with his owne'.<sup>161</sup> It is not clear, and he does not explain, exactly what his 'league' is, but we must assume that this is an apology for his occupation. Like any other tradesman, he will accept employment if the contract is lucrative enough or, even if it is not, he will take it through lack of alternatives. He was, in fact, looking for a job, and as long as there was no conflict of interest, which he is careful to point out there was not, he would take it:

Having spent all of my crownes, and being loth to returne into England without seeing something, I promised to stay. Also in those dayes there was no dispute betwixt her Majestie and the Spanish King, to my knowledge. This was the manner, and the first hower that I entred into the Spanish service.<sup>162</sup>

<sup>157</sup> Clements R. Markham, *The Fighting Veres* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1888), p.346. Markham says of Vere: 'He lived for duty. He devoted his life to the service of his country... The one romance of Vere's life was his devoted loyalty to Queen Elizabeth.' Ibid, p.362. Winwood commented that retirement made 'his lyfe...unprofitable to the world, and perhaps, as displeasing to himself.' *ODNB*.

<sup>158</sup> Williams described himself as a 'friend' of Vere's, Williams, *Discourse*, p.58.

<sup>159</sup> Sir Roger Williams, *Newes from Sir Roger Williams* (Cornwall, 1591), p.3. Although these are possibly not his words they nevertheless reflect the situation as it existed.

<sup>160</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.lv.

<sup>161</sup> Williams, *Discourse*, p.30.

<sup>162</sup> Williams, *Actions*, p.127.



He certainly did not regard such service as acting against the welfare of the national interest or that he was in any way disloyal to the Queen, declaring:

True it is, some are to write, some to speak, others to execute. What I want in anie of those vertues, my bloud shall witnes in others the zeale I beare towards my sacred Sovereigne and deare Countrey, if occasion presents it. In the meantime, and alwais, I pray most heartily to the Almightye to preserve her sacred health and Royall estate to the honour of God, and confusion of her Enimies.<sup>163</sup>

There could be other reasons for this decision. Williams may well have been working for the English government, having joined the Spanish at the suggestion of a Privy Councillor such as Burghley or Walsingham, but while this may explain an otherwise obscure decision, there is no evidence to support it.<sup>164</sup>

English soldiers in the late sixteenth century after the Leicester expedition, having had experience of the conflict in the Low Countries, directly related that experience as service to the Crown, and saw the peace at home in England as fragile. 'The safekeeping of this blessed peace,' said one soldier 'consisteth in the knowledge of warre, and deedes of Armes'.<sup>165</sup>

The soldiers' narratives support the prevailing interpretation of James I's approach. The reluctance of James to become formally militarily involved in European affairs produced a tension which was exacerbated during the subsequent reign when his son proved religiously ambiguous (partly through his influential Catholic wife), thus the three critical factors of allegiance, religion and freedom (in whatever context this was construed but often closely related to the previous two factors), were set apart and placed in potential conflict with each other. Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I, Queen of Bohemia for a short time and wife of the injudicious Elector Palatine Frederick V, became a revered female figure as she was exiled as a consequence of her husband's ill-advised actions in triggering the Thirty Years' War. Colonel Robert Monro dedicated the account of his experience in the war to Charles Louis, the son of Frederick, saying of his fallen comrades that: 'they died standing, serving the publique, through their great love to your Highnesse Royal Mother, the Queene of Bohemia, your Highnesse selfe, and the remnant of the Royal

<sup>163</sup> Williams, *Discourse*, p.62.

<sup>164</sup> The suggestion is made by Trim in his *ODNB* entry for Williams.

<sup>165</sup> Giles Clayton, *The Approved Order of Martiall Discipline* (London, 1591), Epistle Dedicatory. At the time of writing, Clayton had 'served your Majestie in Irelande and in the Lowe Countries these sixteene yeeres.'

issue'.<sup>166</sup> In this way he could show his loyalty to the Stuart dynasty, which in the opinion of many Scots had been treated so shabbily by the Catholic Habsburg Emperor who had forced Elizabeth to become dependent on the charity of others, in a manner that would have been too ironic if directed towards his king, who had shown only peripheral interest and exercised poor military judgement in the wars of the Empire. But Monro declared a dedication towards Elizabeth that surpasses the normal literary convention, stating in the main text: '...with twenty thousand Scots...I would wish to be, to doe service to the Jewell of Europe, the Daughter of our King the Queen of Bohemia, and to her Princely issue'.<sup>167</sup> Stronger still, and speaking on behalf of his entire regiment, his commanding officer and the King of Denmark, he declares:

But never men went on service with more cheerfull countenances, than this Regiment did, going as it were, to welcome death, knowing it to be the passage unto life, especially fighting in a good Cause, against the enemies of the Daughter of our King, the Queene of Bohemia, for whose sake, our Magnificke and Royall Master [Christian IV] did undertake the warres, and for her sake, we resolved to have followed such a courageous Leader, as the Earth this day affords none stouter, as mine eyes did witnesse divers times: And for her sake, I perswade my self, our noble Colonell did engage his estate, and adventure his person, to have don her sacred Majesty good service.<sup>168</sup>

The presence of Scots Roman Catholics in otherwise Protestant armies, like Sir Andrew Gray, Sir John Hepburn, the Earl of Nithsdale, and Lieutenant Colonel John Henderson is explained through their loyalty to the Scottish Elizabeth Stuart,<sup>169</sup> and the zealous Calvinist Monro is able to pay tribute to his Catholic friend, whom he knew from his youth, referring to the 'valour of Hepburne',<sup>170</sup> through his devotion to the 'cause'. Another Catholic Scot, Colonel Bruce, left the service of the Emperor in order to fight for the cause of Elizabeth against his former employer.<sup>171</sup> Not only Scots felt the pull of loyalty towards Elizabeth Stuart. Many Englishmen supported intervention in Europe on her behalf, such as Colonel Sir Edward Harwood, who although a combatant in the Netherlands rather than Germany nevertheless bequeathed her money and jewels in his

<sup>166</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, Epistle Dedicatory.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, I, p.6.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid, I, p.21. See also, for instance: I, p.26; I, p.29; I, p.38; I, p.43; II, p.62.

<sup>169</sup> John Mackay, *An Old Scots Brigade being the history of Mackay's Regiment* (Tonbridge: Pallas Armata, 1991), p.2. For Andrew Gray see the database at [www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne](http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne); for Gray and his commitment to the Palatinate see Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service*, p.65. Hepburn 'had first left his native land to fight for Elizabeth Stuart, and not the Protestant cause'; Grant, *Hepburn*, p.191. See also Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603-1660* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003), p.209.

<sup>170</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.116.

<sup>171</sup> Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service*, p.148, n17. Murdoch, *House of Stuart*, p.3.

will, and she apparently viewed him as 'so faithfull a Servant'.<sup>172</sup> This supports the observation that 'foreign relations were not, in fact, conducted in England's interests, but in the interests of the House of Stuart'.<sup>173</sup>

If loyalty to a monarch or representative of a royal house could be the driver of honour, it has also been argued that personal honour rose above that allegiance and even came into contention with it. Roger Manning sets honour against such loyalty, stating that in 'English martial culture, chivalric values generally continued to favour individual ambition over public interests throughout the seventeenth century', but then cites an example of an individual who looked for an opportunity 'to hazard his life *in the defence and service of his country*'.<sup>174</sup> Fighting for the public interest, the 'common weal', was a much-declared aim during the period covered by this thesis, and is discussed below. But a glance at rebellious noblemen may substantiate the Manning view to a degree. A sense of personal honour could result in dissidence, as in the case of Thomas, Lord Darcy, who went to the block following the Pilgrimage of Grace by refusing to hand over the rebel Robert Aske to whom he had given his word, stating in his defence 'for what is a man but his promise?'.<sup>175</sup> The revolt of the Earl of Essex at the end of Elizabeth's reign would also indicate that to some men their sense of personal honour would over-rule their obligation of allegiance to the monarch. Essex was, or saw himself as the most martial of the Queen's courtiers, and his propensity to violence was part of the persona that a traditional honour-seeking aristocrat could portray. Essex was highborn, the Earl Marshal of England, and as he saw it his birth and position allowed him to judge how the monarch (whose gender was, to Essex, not insignificant) had been swayed by 'base-born upstart' advisors, in particular the lowborn Cecils. Many of Essex's followers were soldiers that had served with him over the years, and several had been knighted by the earl (his consistent use of the prerogative to confer knighthoods had much annoyed the Queen).<sup>176</sup> He was the patron of a group with a military chivalric core, the combination of his lineage and martial career, both noble, marking him out as the natural leader, aloof from any religious alignment and reliant on the bonds of honour shared by men of a military

<sup>172</sup> Harwood, *Observations*, p. B2; *ODNB*.

<sup>173</sup> Murdoch, *House of Stuart*, p.9.

<sup>174</sup> Manning, *Swordsmen*, pp.54-5, my italics.

<sup>175</sup> Quoted in James, *Society, Politics and Culture*, p.341.

<sup>176</sup> Paul E.J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War Government and Society, 1544-1604* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), on the relevance of the Queen's gender, p.2; on the Queen's 'evil councillors', p.215; on knighthoods, p.180.

calling.<sup>177</sup> In the event, his self-assertive nobility, popularity with the common people and the honour code itself all proved to be anachronistic. If Essex and the loose group to which he was patron believed in the right of noble dissidence, it was clear very quickly that those outside (and some inside) the group did not and the spark failed to ignite a flame in the public imagination. The revolt was extinguished swiftly and the political nation proved its unequivocal loyalty to the Queen.<sup>178</sup> The situation was to develop further under the Stuarts, or in a sense regress as once again the nobility began to assert itself in the face of the perceived tyrannical rule of the monarch,<sup>179</sup> only this time it fused with a radical religious agenda which saw the issue of honour over allegiance percolate down the social order. Cromwell, gentleman by name if not always by financial standing, looked to recruit gentlemen as the purveyors of honour:

Your troopers...are most of them old decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows, and...their troopers are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter *gentlemen that have honour, courage and resolution in them?*...You must get men of spirit...that is like to go as far as a gentleman will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still.<sup>180</sup>

A gentleman's honour, though, was often during the Civil War period strictly qualified by religion. There was little ambiguity, unlike the 'sides' in Europe where an individual's religious belief could be irrelevant to the army he joined, and in England the category 'gentleman' and the worth of his 'honour' was now defined by his 'honesty'. When the Suffolk committee objected when Ralph Margery raised a troop of horse on the grounds that he was not a gentleman, Cromwell responded:

If you could choose *godly honest men* to be captains of horse, honest men will follow them, and they will be careful to mount such...I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which *you* call a gentleman and is nothing else. *I honour a gentleman that is so indeed.*<sup>181</sup>

<sup>177</sup> James, *Society, Politics and Culture*, p.435. This supports Manning's contention that chivalry in this period was a secular code; Manning, *Swordsmen*, p.60.

<sup>178</sup> James, *Society, Politics and Culture*, pp.416-465.

<sup>179</sup> Or more accurately, as in the case of the second Earl of Essex, elements of it; the majority of peers supported the King. Peter Young and Richard Holmes, *The English Civil War* (Ware: Wordsworth, 2000), p.27.

<sup>180</sup> Quoted by Austin Woolrych, 'Cromwell as a Soldier', in John Morrill, ed., *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (London and New York: Longman, 1990), p.94, my italics.

<sup>181</sup> Woolrych, 'Cromwell', p.95, my italics.

Cromwell wanted men of honour, but the definition had altered and had become aligned with the cause, just as the Englishmen in the Netherlands post 1585 and the Scots in the Empire post 1618 had been able to re-align their honour to suit their cause.

### **Honour and the 'common weal'**

A phrase often penned by British soldiers and to which they saw themselves committed was that of the 'common' or 'public weal.' This was something alien to subjects of the Emperor as there was no concept of a commonwealth of citizens in the Empire as the interests of the Emperor, or any prince within the Empire, were simply his and his family's.<sup>182</sup> In this respect loyalty to the public weal could be seen as a block to the absolutism of the ruling dynasty. Our authors add to our understanding of the concept, which has been much discussed by historians in other contexts. Monro stated that men were 'ready to serve the common cause, to die and live with his Majesty, in the defence of the publique',<sup>183</sup> and he believed that even kings 'are but servants (though more splendid) for the common-weale', with military service being 'nothing els but a free mans calling'.<sup>184</sup> Monro linked this loyalty to the public weal to fealty to the dynasty, commenting that soldiers risked their lives 'as servants of the publique, if not for their country, yet at least, as cannot be denied, for the liberty of their Kings Royall Issue'.<sup>185</sup> Elizabethan soldiers also related to the public weal, Geffrey Gates declaring: 'The fruite that I purpose, and hope hereby to reape, is the weale of my Countrey,' with William Blandy commenting that a monarch is 'to be diligent, and busie for the weale of all'.<sup>186</sup> It could also be used at the local level, with Sir John Ogle commenting that it was Sir Francis Vere's concern for 'the publick service', that is for the greater good of the garrison and the success of the mission that led to the controversial parley at Ostend.<sup>187</sup> There were times when it was reciprocated. Parliament and Privy Council supported veteran and disabled soldiers' requests for back-pay and pensions on the grounds that inadequate treatment of this group would bring 'dishonoure to the Realme, in comparison with other Countries',

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<sup>182</sup> Mann, *Wallenstein*, pp. 29; 250.

<sup>183</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.111.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid, I, p.35.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid, I, p.26.

<sup>186</sup> Blandy, *The Castle*, pp. 2;13.

<sup>187</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.147.

and old soldiers were not to be treated like the poor but as members of 'the community of honour'.<sup>188</sup>

There was a perceived necessity to commit to the nation's cause, which should be seen as synonymous with the Queen's, and a lack of honour and virtue existed within the nobility which should be put at the country's disposal:

The greater part of our English Gentilitie is not onelie ignorant what honor and virtue meaneth, but consequentlie disdaineth (or at least wise lightly regardeth) those labours whereby they might and ought become comfortable to friends, *and serviceable to their Prince and Countrie*.<sup>189</sup>

### Honour and the professional soldier

Richard Lovelace combined the careers of metaphysical poet and professional soldier. He had followed the Lovelace family military tradition by becoming a soldier (his father and grandfather fought in the Netherlands and he may have been born there), and he spent many years in the service of the United Provinces.<sup>190</sup> Through his combination of artistic talent and military experience, however, he shows us that honour in the field was an issue for the professional soldier as much as it was to the chivalric amateur:

Tell me not (Sweet) I am unkinde,  
That from the Nunnerie  
Of thy chaste breast, and quiet minde,  
To Warre and Armes I flie.  
True: a new Mistresse now I chase,  
The first Foe in the Field;  
And with a stronger Faith imbrace  
A sword, a Horse, a Shield.  
Yet this Inconstancy is such,  
As you too shall adore;  
I could not love thee (Deare) so much,  
Lov'd I not Honour more.<sup>191</sup>

<sup>188</sup> Geoffrey L. Hudson, 'Disabled Veterans and the State in Early Modern England', in David A. Gerber, ed., *Disabled Veterans in History* (University of Michigan, 2000), p.121.

<sup>189</sup> Segar, *Booke of Honor*, p.71, my italics. Evans, *Works*, p.cxviii.

<sup>190</sup> ODNB: Richard Lovelace.

<sup>191</sup> Richard Lovelace, *Lucasta: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs etc. To Which Is Added Aramantha, A Pastorall* (London, 1649), p.3.

The idea that chivalry, virtue and honour were not part of the professional soldier's creed is brought into serious contention by men such as Lovelace, Monro and Williams, all soldiers who have indicated, either in elegant poetry or through 'the writings of the shallow-brained Souldier',<sup>192</sup> that such terms were acutely relevant to their situation and not undermined by their status as professionals. But, as professionals, they also fought for the aims and objectives of the general or prince whom they served, and their performance dictated the level of honour they achieved. Such individuals challenge Roger Manning's statement that an English professional soldier 'cared not about military victory or defeat or the achievement of stated military objectives'.<sup>193</sup> Of course he did, because to the soldier on the ground combat was always about winning. Only the true mercenaries of the early-modern and previous ages would remove themselves in the midst of battle following the death or departure of their paymaster. Even in a civil war the enemy had to be defeated, and one historian of the English Civil War is left with 'the overwhelming impression...that when soldiers fought they normally fought to win'.<sup>194</sup> The early modern English martial memory extended as far back as Crécy, during the so-called age of chivalry, where the English had ignored the 'rules' of combat in destroying the French 'quality' men-at-arms with their yeoman archers, by firing their arrows into their horses and killing the knights on the ground.<sup>195</sup> These English martial men that rose to such supremacy in France and Scotland in the Middle Ages did so with the very clear aim of winning, and while their understanding of honour was to commit themselves with resolution on the battlefield, if an advantage could be gained at the expense of the enemy, then it would be exploited.<sup>196</sup> But honour still had to be fought for and continued to be into the early modern period and beyond – it has never been honourable to fight in order to lose. Roger Manning believes that soldiers 'were more concerned with their reputations than with winning and losing a battle' and quotes La Rochefoucauld: 'Most men take sufficient risks in war to maintain

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<sup>192</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, 'To the Reader'. False modesty was, of course, a literary convention of the time; see Introduction above.

<sup>193</sup> Manning, *Swordsmen*, p.79. It is not entirely clear which group of people constituted Manning's 'martialists'; it may be he refers to part-time soldiers, the noblemen that irritated Sir Francis Vere at Nieuwpoort (see the section 'Rank and Status' in Chapter Two), but as he refers to Sir Roger Williams, who was certainly not in that category, it is unlikely. Even part-time noble 'martialists' such as the Earl of Leicester looked for military success as a route to achieving honour; failure has never been an achievement, whether as an individual or the leader of a collective effort.

<sup>194</sup> Barbara Donagan, 'The Web of Honour: Soldiers, Christians and Gentlemen in the English Civil War', *The Historical Journal*, Vol.44, No. 2, p.387.

<sup>195</sup> Charles Aleyn, *The batailles of Crescy and Poictiers under the fortunes and valour of King Edward the third of that name, and his sonne Edward Prince of Wales, named the Black* (London, 1633). At Crécy, 'the whole ethic of knighthood and of honour in war was challenged'; Peter Reid, *By Fire and Sword: The Rise and Fall of English Supremacy at Arms: 1314-1485* (London: Constable, 2007), p.167. Actually, it was the rules of combat that had changed as one side gleaned an advantage through superior tactics, but honour through victory was still paramount.

<sup>196</sup> Ruses and the use of intelligence are discussed at length in Chapter Four.

their honour, but few are willing to take the further risk necessary to achieve victory'.<sup>197</sup> But La Rochefoucauld said this in the eighteenth century, in an entirely different age. It is clear men such as Sir Francis Vere and Sir Roger Williams, whom Roger Manning includes as 'gallants' searching solely for individual honour, were profoundly concerned with the outcome of their engagements with the enemy. Vere did not support fighting purely for honour without the aim of victory, as there was no glory in a foolhardy death:

Which is an error that many the like cases fall into, to their utter destruction; when fear to have their valour called in question, maketh them against all reason fight against a stronger enemy, and engage themselves, where they have neither purpose nor hope to obtain victory.<sup>198</sup>

Vere, it has been shown in Chapter Two,<sup>199</sup> was careful to separate the glory of his victories from the debacle of others' defeats. Williams deplores the 'ignorance' of the commanders and soldiers when describing the early days in the Netherlands that saw the inexperienced English force suffer several defeats, and although he praises their courage it is clear the honour of their efforts has failed to achieve the aim of victory. Williams writes in terms of beating the Spanish, and refers to the defeat of the Spanish Armada, so to him war was not a matter of just taking part, it was a matter of winning.<sup>200</sup> To Monro, he and his men were fighting for the right cause through serving the relevant leader. Fighting to win, even, or especially, if the effort resulted in death, was an act of supreme honour:

Thou must resolve to shew thy self resolute, couragious, and valiant, going before others in good example, choosing rather to dye with credit standing, serving the publique, than ignominiously to live in shame, disgracing both thy selfe and thy Countrie. Who would not then at such times choose virtue before vice; glorie, honour, and immortall fame, before an ignominious, shameful, and detestable life?<sup>201</sup>

It was not soldiers who committed themselves to battle without concern for the collective victory, but it may well have been the aim of their civilian leaders, to strike a strategic balance of power rather than achieve outright success against one enemy only to leave the nation open to an erstwhile ally.<sup>202</sup> Elizabeth I had been brought up to view the

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<sup>197</sup> Manning, *Swordsmen*, p.66.

<sup>198</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.130.

<sup>199</sup> See section on 'Caesar's Commentaries'.

<sup>200</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.xv; Williams, *Discourse*, pp.8-9.

<sup>201</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.93.

<sup>202</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, p.253.



traditional enemy as France, but it was clear that Spain's massed armies in the Netherlands and the stated aims of the 'universal monarchy' and activities of the Catholic Inquisition posed the most immediate and dramatic threat to Protestant England's security. Towards France and Spain the Queen had to enact her foreign policy on a knife-edge, in the words of Howell Lloyd, by 'manipulating their mutual hostility'.<sup>203</sup> The Dutch, too, were to be viewed with suspicion, as a republic in rebellion against their legal sovereign and growing rivals in trade and colonial expansion. These political factors explain why Elizabeth was as concerned about outright victory as she was abject defeat, and she admonished Sir John Norris for his overly aggressive tactics in striving for success in battle:

...so would we have liked best, you had remembered our particular direction, given unto you to stand upon a defensive war...For that our meaning in the present action is (as we have publicly notified unto the world) to defend.

In similar vein, she directed the Earl of Leicester 'to make a defensive than an offensive warre, and that you seeke by all meanes you mai to avoide the hazard of a battail'.<sup>204</sup> These would have been impossible orders for a military leader to carry out in the field: to be told, in effect, to hold the line indeterminately but not offensively. While Vere was swept along by the momentum of the States General (at times clearly to the annoyance of the Queen), the commanders who answered to her directly during expeditions, such as Norris and Leicester, were subject to her parsimoniousness and the constraints of her cautious non-committal born out of mistrust for her allies. It was not these military commanders who did not wish to succeed in the field; indeed they perceived honour in that course of action, but rather their political superior in London.

What was honourable and what was not could be the subject of some debate, such as Sir Francis Vere's anti-parley at Ostend, and sometimes one method of achieving an aim could be considered more honourable than another. For instance, one English gentleman volunteered for the Portugal expedition rather than serve in the Netherlands as he believed the former to be an offensive campaign, and therefore more honourable than the defensive warfare fought in the Low Countries.<sup>205</sup> Hexham gives us another example when he offers two ways of laying a siege, describing '...the difference betweene a Towne blocked up, which is a languishing death, and a Towne bravely beseiged, & taken in by Approaches,

<sup>203</sup> Howell A. Lloyd, *The Rouen Campaign 1590-1592: Politics, Warfare and the Early Modern State* (Oxford University Press, 1973) p.22.

<sup>204</sup> Quoted in Adams, 'Protestant Cause', pp.51; 54.

<sup>205</sup> Manning, *Swordsmen*, p.121.

which in a Souldiers opinion, is accounted more honorable'.<sup>206</sup> Hexham goes on to compare the tactics of Frederick-Henry, who won the city of Breda in 1637 through aggression, with those of the Spanish during the first siege, who starved the city into submission:

The Marquesse Spinola...came and satt downe before [Breda], on the 28 of August 1624, and having sustayned the losse of a great many brave men before Bergin, fearing to attempt the same by Approches, (commanding a mightie Armie) choose rather to block it up on all sides, and so knowing that many mouths, must eate many victualls, sought rather to famish it out.<sup>207</sup>

Elizabeth herself realised that her commanders had views of their own about which course of action was advisable. She suspected her commanders of joining the fray too readily, as her leaders charged into enemy positions at the head of their troops in order to further their personal honour, perhaps without due regard for their safety and to the detriment of a wider strategy. During the amphibious action at Peniche (Portugal), the Earl of Essex, always keen to subject himself to hand to hand combat,

...was the first man landed ...Seaven Ensignes with him at that pointe wheareto ympeach the landing of our men. Theare weare 5000 Spaniards and Portugals assembled, but in thend they wear by our men driven to flighte, whearen Captains Palmer, Jackson, and Baskerville behaved themselves very valiantly at the push of pike.<sup>208</sup>

Contemporary sources suggest that perhaps the Queen had a point. Her commanders often had an adventurous spirit and the operational aim could be blurred by the hunt for glory and the desire for booty. But they all nevertheless fought a clearly defined enemy, not a personal foe but an enemy of the state, and they fought to win. The expedition to Spain and Portugal in 1589, in which the Earl of Essex was an unauthorised participant (and *de facto* leader), is one affair where the aims of the field commanders seemed to have been in direct contention with that of their supreme commander, the Queen. Although she, too, looked for the pecuniary gain an interception of the treasure fleet at the Azores would bring, her most pressing objective was the destruction of the remnant of the Armada that had returned from its defeat off the coast of England and at that time was awaiting refit on Spain's northern coast at Santander and San Sebastián. Whatever the Queen may have

<sup>206</sup> Hexham, *Siege of Breda*, Epistle Dedicatory.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid, Information to the Reader.

<sup>208</sup> Fissel, *English Warfare*, p.160.

directed, the many backers for the enterprise had commercial reasons for supporting the scheme, and in the event the Spanish navy was to remain unmolested, although much to the Queen's chagrin so too was the treasure fleet.<sup>209</sup> Under the influence of the unauthorised Earl, the force headed for Portugal, via Corunna where the commanders were attracted by the supposed arrival of two hundred laden merchantmen that did not materialise. They returned home with very little to satisfy their commercial backers and, strategically far more significantly, had allowed the Spanish fleet to remain a serious threat to England's defence. For this they faced the wrath of the Queen, and yet they clearly viewed their actions independent of any wider strategy and worthy of renown despite the lack of any long-term effect on the Spanish. In their view they had taken the war to the enemy, unlike the defensive policy in the Netherlands that saw only slow progress through attrition. As one participant commented, '...so much is the journey to be preferred before those defensive wars', and the honour of the actions, though without strategic impact, were nevertheless of great national value: 'For the gain of one town or any small defeat giveth more renown to the assailant than the defence of a country...the fame of all wars [is laid] upon the invader'.<sup>210</sup> Likewise Sir Roger Williams, appealing to 'all the Captaines of Europe' to judge rather than unappreciative civilians, who regarded the overthrow of a much larger force by their army of 'smal meanes & great crosses' an act of 'valor' worthy of 'an 100 times more praise' than the Spanish Armada, with its far superior assets and resources and yet shamefully defeated. The courage of the soldiers despite harsh conditions and disease was itself intrinsically worthy of praise; they had defeated the enemy despite over-whelming odds on his own territory, and the strategic impact and the bigger picture were somewhat irrelevant to that achievement.<sup>211</sup>

### Dishonour

To some professional soldiers, such as Williams, dishonour was 'more to be feared than death'.<sup>212</sup> There is, nevertheless, the poor reputation of soldiers to consider and it is perhaps the opposite end of the 'honour' spectrum that historians have tended to highlight. The sources for a negative view are unimpeachable:

<sup>209</sup> R.B. Wernham, ed., *The Expedition of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake to Spain and Portugal, 1589* (Aldershot: Temple Smith, 1988), pp.xix; xxxix.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid, Anthony Wingfield's discourse, p.247.

<sup>211</sup> Williams, *Discourse*, pp.8-9. Also quoted in Wernham, *Expedition*, pp.224-5.

<sup>212</sup> Francis Markham, *Booke of Honour*, p.1.

Can honour set-to a leg? No. Or an arm? No. Or take away the grief of a wound? No. Honour hath no skill in surgery, then? No. What is honour? A word. What is in that word 'honour'? What is that 'honour'? Air. A trim reckoning! Who hath it? He that died o' Wednesday. Doth he feel it? No. Doth he hear it? No. 'Tis insensible then? Yea, to the dead. But will it not live with the living? No. Why? Detraction will not suffer it. Therefore I'll none of it. Honour is a mere scutcheon.<sup>213</sup>

Thus Falstaff, an over-indulgent, incorrigible rogue and coward who 'misused the King's press damnably' for his own ends.<sup>214</sup> Shakespeare's character has been taken as representative of English captains (during Shakespeare's age, not Falstaff's), and modern historians of the English land forces for this period, of which there are few, have tended to emphasise the potential for dishonesty in the company commander's role.<sup>215</sup> Cruickshank wrote of the power of the captains to swindle both the government and their men, and who stood accused 'doubtless for good reason' of dismissing men while pocketing their pay, selling their arms and enrolling freebooters in their stead.<sup>216</sup> Indeed the reaction of the Privy Council to the riots in London of 1589 and 1592, which saw soldiers demanding back pay, was to hold the 'captains' responsible for not sufficiently equipping, feeding and paying the troops.<sup>217</sup> Sir Roger Williams recognised that these dishonourable officers existed and what damage such individuals could do:

He careth not what wrong he doth to recover wealth, cause men to ende their dayes in everie light skirmish, wearie others with wants and discourtesies, keepe the Officers of his Armie in pickes and quarrels, cause them to disgrace one another, lay al the fault on his fellowes, spare neither friend nor foe to recover wealth, it is impossible for such a Chiefe to end any action honorable: for he respects the least of his bagges, more than his best Captaine; and values his crownes too good for his best Souldiers. A multitude are not to be contented, without consuming great treasure; the sight of his gold, & departing with his treasure wil cause him to [sic] with all his troupes dead to recover their dues. In short time he will discredit his Estate and action.<sup>218</sup>

<sup>213</sup> *1 Henry IV*, Act 5 Scene 1, Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, eds., *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). Falstaff goes by the original name of Oldcastle in this version.

<sup>214</sup> *1 Henry IV*, Act 4 Scene 2.

<sup>215</sup> See, for example, Henry J. Webb, 'Falstaff's "Tardy Tricks"', *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 58, No. 5, (May, 1943), pp. 377-9.

<sup>216</sup> C.G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp.39, 132; Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, p.7.

<sup>217</sup> Hudson, 'Disabled Veterans', p.120.

<sup>218</sup> Williams, *Discourse*, p.2.

It has been commented that the swindling of soldiers was widespread, by historians who quote 'available records' and contemporaries who crafted indignant protests.<sup>219</sup> There were regulations against it, but no doubt it continued to an extent in all armies.<sup>220</sup> In fact, profit from war was a rare experience, and if Vere was to benefit from the financial reforms of the Dutch and receive due reward from the English, there are many instances of financial hardship brought on by leaders whose primary responsibility, that they clearly took very seriously, was the welfare of their men.

The taint of dishonourable actions was not contained within the middle-ranking field commands, the company captains responsible for the management of the rank and file, but could extend further up the chain of command. There were times when those in high command drew back from full commitment, in other words from striving for total victory and treating with the enemy, as generals such as Wallenstein in Germany and the Earls of Essex and Manchester during the civil wars in England were accused of doing.<sup>221</sup> There was no perception of honour in their actions – Essex and Manchester were sacked, Wallenstein murdered as a consequence.<sup>222</sup>

## Duelling

One manifestation of a gentleman's concept of and desire for honour is thought to have been his propensity for duelling. A duel was considered a challenge that required a high degree of physical courage due to the very real risk of death. There are two discernible categories of duel: the challenge of a commander or his second to fight his counter-part on the enemy's side thus avoiding battle and the inevitable 'effusion of much blood',<sup>223</sup> and the brawling of 'gentlemen' on the same side as the result of a perceived

<sup>219</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.xciii; Sir John Smythe, *Certain Discourses* (London, 1590), Proëm Dedicatorie. Smythe lambastes many aspects of modern warfare in this treatise, which was suppressed by Burghley.

<sup>220</sup> For instance: 'Any Officer that does presume to defraud the Souldiers of their pay, or any part of it, shall be cashiered', Of the Duties of Commanders and Officers, III, Anon, *Lawes and Ordinances of Warre* (London, 1642).

<sup>221</sup> J.V. Polišínský, *The Thirty Years War*, trans. Robert Evans (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), p.212; Woolrych, 'Cromwell', p.101; Ian Gentles, *The New Model Army: In England, Ireland and Scotland, 1645-1653*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p.4.

<sup>222</sup> Some wars were fought without enthusiasm and as such became military non-events: during the Bishops' Wars 'the Scots remained reluctant to strike against their English brethren,' whilst the English army was to be large enough to fight the Scots 'if necessary'. Fissel, *English Warfare*, pp.278/9.

<sup>223</sup> Segar, *Booke of Honor*, p.1. Although perhaps that was not necessarily the pre-eminent reason; Williams comments that in a battle 'the more dyes, the more honour to the fight', *Actions*, p.80; and Monro, having lost 500 men at the defence of Stralsund, comments: 'Who will say, but that blood was better lost than kept, when it returnes with advantage, having bought credit to themselves and Country? Let none then mourne for the loss gotten so honourable', Monro, *Expedition*, I, p.80.

personal slight or other infringement of the unwritten, and very subjective, code of personal honour. The writings of soldiers to an extent bear out this view. Although the former seems to have died out by the time of the civil wars in Britain, it was certainly evident in the Elizabethan era.<sup>224</sup> Sir Roger Williams was prone to offer such challenges, and respected the practice in others, recounting from the Portugal expedition: 'Where the Earle of Essex sent his Trumpet, to dare their Generall the Countie of Fuentes, to find himselfe in the head of his troupes, to change the blowes of the pikes, giving him signall of his attire and feathers...' <sup>225</sup>

Such challenges could be interpreted as matters not only of personal honour but also patriotism, and Anthony Wingfield would seem to support this view, describing Essex in this example as a man 'preferring the honour of the cause, *which was his country's*, before his own safety' (although, arguably, not before his own honour).<sup>226</sup> Roger Manning and Sir John Hale represent two very different perspectives; whether an individual fought for his own individual reputation regardless of the outcome of the wider conflict or even of the cause, or whether his entire *raison d'être* was for the greater good and his personal sacrifice subordinate to the final outcome of the war for the benefit of Queen and country. Essex, who had also challenged the governor of Rouen to a duel, is regarded by Roger Manning as an amateur gallant who had no time for set military objectives and who went about his own private battles purely to gain personal honour. While this may be true to an extent of Essex, the self-assertive high-born noble who believed he had the lineage and position, that is the right, to challenge the policies of the ruler,<sup>227</sup> this is not so of the professional soldiers with whom he associated. Roger Manning includes Vere and Williams in his category of 'amateur gallant' alongside Sidney and Essex, professing that they held 'the mentality of the late medieval knight' and that to them 'public war was hardly distinguishable from...private war'.<sup>228</sup> It is incorrect to class Vere and Williams as amateurs. They were full-time members of an increasingly professional army, and if their recourse to flamboyant leadership, always from the front with feathers flying from

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<sup>224</sup> Of the English Civil War: '...that battles might be decided by single combat between commanders acting as champions seem to have been met by bemusement and mockery'; Donagan, 'Web of honour', p.370. That said, a parliamentary pamphleteer thought it worthwhile to report that 'Heroick, Brooke, offered to deside the contraries quarrel, by a Lordly combat', quoted in James, *Society, Politics and Culture*, p.406.

<sup>225</sup> Williams, *Discourse*, p.9.

<sup>226</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.xviii; Wernham, *Expedition*, p.276, my italics.

<sup>227</sup> Richard McCoy discussed these 'fundamental contradictions' between Essex as aristocrat and his monarch in: *The Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1989), p.89.

<sup>228</sup> Manning, *Swordsmen*, pp.65; 71.

morions,<sup>229</sup> was somewhat medieval in style and their collection of wounds in keeping with the signs of honour,<sup>230</sup> they nevertheless survived long enough to prove that they could not have been overly reckless. Neither did they 'hinder [the] acceptance of the principles and practices of modern warfare',<sup>231</sup> as Williams was voluble in his criticism of the conservative Smythe, and Vere was open to the modernisations of Prince Maurice. Those with an over-developed sense of honour (or an under-developed professional caution) were likely to risk too much and die prematurely, as in the case of Sir Philip Sidney.

Brawling amongst quarrelling gentlemen was the one aspect of combat that was not turned against the enemy, and was therefore frowned upon by governments who understandably did not wish their military commanders and men of quality to kill each other and yet whose members were tied to the same unwritten code, thus an ambiguity existed that saw few duellists punished.<sup>232</sup> However there were measures taken against duelling: the ever-practical Gustavus Adolphus stamped out the practice by threatening to execute the survivor,<sup>233</sup> while Elizabeth I was capable of punishing combatants severely as she did when exiling Sir Thomas Lucas<sup>234</sup> and James I issued a declaration of his displeasure on the subject.<sup>235</sup> Still it flourished, and there are duelling episodes throughout the period studied. Sir Francis Vere skilfully navigated around the puerile challenges of the Earl of Northumberland, who believed he had been treated with disdain by Vere whilst at Ostend (and probably had been given that general's impatience with glory-seeking aristocrats).<sup>236</sup> Monro also discounted the practice:

My cozen Lieutenant Andrew Monro being killed in combat [i.e. a duel<sup>237</sup>], I have more then reason to condemne and disallow of that miserable sort of fight, where oftimes the victorious puts himselfe in a worse case, both of soule and body, than he that is killed.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.xxvi

<sup>230</sup> Manning, *Swordsmen*, p.52.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid*, p.79.

<sup>232</sup> Francis Markham comments: '...that many old Lawes for the defence and tuition of [honour], have admitted duels, unlawful (otherwise) altogether...'; *Booke of Honour*, p.1.

<sup>233</sup> Christopher Hill, 'The Duel in European History,' in *England's Turning Point: Essays on 17th century English history* (London: Bookmarks, 1998), p.253. For a more recent discussion, see Markku Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness and Honour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>234</sup> Manning, *Swordsmen*, p.194.

<sup>235</sup> Anon, *A Publication of His Majesties Edict and Severe Censure against Private Combats and Combatants* (London, 1613). Manning, *Swordsmen*, p.193n1.

<sup>236</sup> C.R. Markham, *Fighting Veres*, pp.334-7.

<sup>237</sup> 'A Combat, is a single fight of one man against another, for trial of truth...', Segar, *Booke of Honor*, p.1.

<sup>238</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, I, p.83.

### The complexities of loyalty

An uncomplicated loyalty to a monarch, simply because that individual was seen as the personification of the nation or that he or she would act selflessly and fairly on behalf of his or her subjects, or that he or she was divinely sanctioned, may have existed and motivated individuals: it would go some way to explain the loyalty shown to Charles I by individuals who found him personally disagreeable.<sup>239</sup> One of his followers wrote of the King's dealings with Catholics:

How much I am unsatisfied with the proceedings here I have at large expressed in several letters. Neither is there wanting daily handsome occasion to retire, were it not for grinning honour...If there could be an expedient found to salve the punctilio of honour, I would not continue here an hour. The discontent that I and many other honest men receive daily is beyond expression.<sup>240</sup>

Perhaps a belief in the innate nobility of military service has existed throughout the ages and was no less ascendant in the early modern period, and perhaps some individuals served because they accepted the order of things as they had little choice. Robert Monro said bluntly: 'He that serves a master, must obey',<sup>241</sup> and according to his account his own soldiers responded well to strong leadership regardless of creed or cause:

I cannot passe over with silence the love that ordinarily is seene betwixt Officers, and their followers: being once put under good discipline they will undergo any thing for love of their Commanders and Leaders, who have taken paines and diligence in excercising them in the perfect use of their Armes, and in leading them bravely on occasions before their enemies, in making with exercise their bodies strong, and their hearts valiant, then I say, what will they not undertake for the love of their Leaders?<sup>242</sup>

Thus the soldiers, trained and disciplined to follow their officers, although the views of the men are unrecorded. But what of the officers? Francis Markham believed that a captain should fight for 'the Church, their Countrie, King and the oppressed',<sup>243</sup> (presumably in that order), thus giving considerable scope, so who, then, did these British professional military officers actually fight for? Perhaps for their own monarch in some

<sup>239</sup> Edmund Verney wrote to his brother: 'I beseech you consider that majesty is sacred; God sayeth "Touch not myne anointed"', quoted in Christopher Hibbert, *Charles I* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p.184.

<sup>240</sup> S.R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War* (London and New York: Phoenix, 2002), Vol I, p.25.

<sup>241</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, I, p.11. This would be as true at home regarding the clan chief as in the field under a foreign master.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid*, I, p.37.

<sup>243</sup> Francis Markham, *Epistles*, p.74.



way defending the 'freedom' of others in order to keep the wolf from their own door? Or just as mercenaries for a foreign employer, merely after personal gain but using dynastic or religious arguments if they conveniently presented themselves? Monroe believed the wolf existed and had to be stopped, and that it was Catholic, observing:

...how few of our Nation are induced to serve those Catholic Potentates:<sup>244</sup> and for my part, I finde the reason good: for if we have any enemies in Europe, it must be those, that would not onely overthrow our estates at home (if they could) but also would force us (if it lay in their powers) to make shipwracke of our consciences, by leading us into Idolatry.<sup>245</sup>

Vere, we have seen, had difficulties at times convincing his own government whose side he was on (English or Dutch; never the enemy's), and Williams, despite his change of employer, would certainly not have described himself as a mercenary; as has been noted he spoke disdainfully of them. Monroe discussed the topic through an issue concerning the regiment's colours when serving with Christian IV of Denmark:

The Regiment mustered received colours, wherein his Majestie would have the Officers to carry the Danes cross, which the Officers refusing they were summoned to compeare before his Majestie at Raynesberge, to know the reasons for their refusals; at the meeting none would adventure, fearing his Majesties indignation, to gainstand openly his Majesties will, being then his Majesties sworne servants: and for the eschewing of greater inconvenience, the Officers desired so much time of his majestie, as to send Captaine Robert Ennis into England, to know his Majestie of Great Britaines will, whether or no, they might carrie without reproach the Danes Crosse, in Scottish colours: answere was returned, they should obey their will, under whose pay they were, in a matter so indifferent.<sup>246</sup>

Two points are noteworthy here: the view of the officers, in that they wished to be seen as representatives of their own nation, and the view of Charles I who considers the issue unimportant and appears to snub them as mercenaries. Although to be fair to the King, his father, as James VI of Scotland, had experienced none of the complexities of command and financial manoeuvring that dominated Elizabeth's relationship with her English troops and the States General in the Low Countries. As James had had no say over Scottish

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<sup>244</sup> In the 1620s the Earl of Argyll could not find recruits for the Spanish army, 'the common view being that service in the Spanish army would be against the best interests of the house of Stuart,' particularly after the Stuart-Orange campaign. Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service*, pp.72/87.

<sup>245</sup> Monroe, *Expedition*, II, p.75.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid*, I, p.2.

soldiers employed by the Dutch or any other government, so it is possible that his son's natural reaction would be one of indifference to such issues.<sup>247</sup>

An Englishman, serving in the Netherlands at about the same time as Monro served the Danes in Germany, also believed action abroad for the sake of religion should be appreciated back home. His message to the King is a plea for recognition:

It would bee a great incouragement to his Subjects to follow the warres, to inable themselves to doe him service, though to their cost and charge, when they have to hope, that though they serve a strange Prince, or State to their no advantage, yet thereby inabling themselves to doe their owne King service, they may in time bee provided for in their owne Countrey; whereas if charges of commands, advancements of honour may bee had better cheape, by staying at home and following their pleasures, there will but few ever take the paines and labour, or bee at the charges to inable themselves by following the warres abroad...<sup>248</sup>

Serving abroad and balancing the commitment to a foreign lord against an obligation to one's own countrymen and native monarch were sometimes too difficult to reconcile. Vere just about achieved the balance and he certainly retired a wealthy man, whereas the Scot Colonel John Clark did not. Clark commanded a troop of horse in Danish service against the Swedes (possibly his former employers) in the early 1560s, and was then given the task of recruiting one thousand men in Scotland who he would subsequently command on behalf of Frederick II against Sweden. This Clark duly did, but at the end of the war in 1570 managed to fall foul of both the Danish and Scottish authorities and faced a court-martial in Denmark. He was accused of allowing, or at least not impeding, the defection of elements of his force to the enemy (two men had previously been executed for allowing 84 others to defect to the Swedes), of obstructing Danish recruiting drives (other than his own) in Scotland, and of using his men (or, more to the point, Frederick II's men) against Queen Mary. The charges were very serious: hindering recruitment for the Danish war effort, and potentially embroiling Denmark in a civil war abroad. Added to these accusations were the discrepancies in Clark's accounts and the consequential implication that he had defrauded the Danish treasury. Scotland, when under the new Protestant regime of James VI, was to intervene on his behalf, but as negotiations for his release dragged on, he died incarcerated at Dragsholm Castle having

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<sup>247</sup> Duyck, *Journal*, I, p.347.

<sup>248</sup> Harwood, *Observations*, p.D2.

been in prison for some six years.<sup>249</sup> The Clark affair presents a complicated series of events and accusations on which to assess culpability, but it nevertheless exposes the pitfalls that faced soldiers attempting to straddle two nations concurrently. Clark had one leg in a Scotland preoccupied with internal strife and the other in a Denmark openly at war with Sweden, and the loyalty he showed to one nation, or faction within that nation, provoked the enmity of the other.

Another issue that could present itself was the loyalty further down the chain of command, between different levels of command. Sir John Norris, commander of the English regiment in the Low Countries in 1582, had a serious disagreement with Sir Roger Williams and as a consequence the latter removed his company from Norris' command and put it at the disposal of the French. This was not considered mutiny as Williams' commission was to levy a company of volunteers to serve in the Low Countries and it did not specify under whom.<sup>250</sup> Some years later Williams was ordered to redeploy his troops from their position in Normandy to Brittany and fall under Norris' command. While protesting to the Queen 'my zeale toward your sacred service alwaies' and that he would 'hazard...myne owne carcasse for your service', he nevertheless stayed in Normandy and failed to link up with Norris, a dereliction that was, after a pause, sanctioned by the Queen.<sup>251</sup>

### Changing sides

In numerous instances soldiers had to justify to themselves and to others their decision to change sides. Sir Edward Harwood commented: 'All men [are] led, either by honour, or profit, or both', and Sir Roger Williams wrote: 'Dutie, honor & welth makes men follow the wars: when Generals rob their inferiors of all three, often it makes honest mindes quit their service, & the dishonest to serve their Enemies.'<sup>252</sup> William Garrard, an Englishman who served the Spanish Army of Flanders for fourteen years, saw no excuse for changing sides, and offered the following advice to the trainee soldier: 'He ought likewise to beware, under paine of great punishment, for running from one campe to another, for what occasion soever that urge him to it, but is bound to serve that partie with

<sup>249</sup> Thomas Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot...* (Odense University Press, 1988), pp.86; 88-94.

<sup>250</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.xxi. Nolan, *Sir John Norreys*, p.54.

<sup>251</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.xlvi.

<sup>252</sup> Williams, *Discourse*, p.3. Donagan, 'Web of honour', p.366.

which he doth first place himselfe, even until the ende of the warres'.<sup>253</sup> Given Garrard's position in the 'enemy' camp, his comments could be seen as an attempt to vindicate himself in that he stuck with his chosen masters and was, therefore, no mercenary.<sup>254</sup> The Elizabethan soldier Humfrey Barwick combined service to the state with earning a living, declaring: '...when I was young I did seeke to serve, both in England, Fraunce, and Scotland, to that end I may better doo my Prince and Countrie service, and also to sustaine my self, who otherwais was not able to live as I did desire to doo...'.<sup>255</sup>

Sydenham Poyntz was an Englishman whose changing loyalties caused him some difficulties in later life. Unlike Vere, Williams and Monro, Poyntz described himself at the outset as 'a meer Soldier of Fortune'.<sup>256</sup> He appeared initially to have no particular flag to fly, for either a religion or a dynasty, although he did believe in the innate nobility of the soldier's profession, stating 'to live and dy a souldier would bee as noble in death as Life'.<sup>257</sup> As we have seen, Poyntz changed sides several times, and although this was certainly not uncommon it was less so for officers. It was usual practice that, following defeat, 'Souldiers were made to take service, and their Officers made prisoners'.<sup>258</sup> Poyntz tells us of a clash between Wallenstein and the Elector of Saxony, where following the Imperialist victory the consequence of defeat for the Saxons was that 'the Souldiers were to serve the Emperour but the Officers were conducted to Saxonie with the Commaunder'.<sup>259</sup> In principle, changing sides was treason, in any theatre of war at any time, and the soldier was advised to consider the severity of the crime:

Hee shall keepe unspotted his fidelity to his Prince, and although there befall him many disgustos, and insufferable toyles, yet shall he not passe to the enemies campe, for not to be tatched a traytor, a foule and odious offence, rigorously to be punished amongst all nations, from all ages and times; and never yet traytor to his Prince made ever any good end, whereof too many examples do abound; The treason may be liked, but the traytor never beloved nor trusted.<sup>260</sup>

However in practice it was a common occurrence, and one that often went unpunished, for example those at Breda who 'had forsaken the service of the high and mightie Lords the

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<sup>253</sup> Garrard, *Arte of Warre*, p.19.

<sup>254</sup> He was, however, devoted to 'the holy catholicke Church'; *ibid*, p.22/3.

<sup>255</sup> Barwick, *Breefe Discourse*, Epistle Dedicatory 'To all skilfull Captaines.'

<sup>256</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.145.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid*, p.45.

<sup>258</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.39.

<sup>259</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.69.

<sup>260</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, p.12.

States General, and had taken entertainment on the Cardinals side' were nevertheless allowed to depart 'without any molestation'.<sup>261</sup> One German soldier changed side many times. Enlisting initially with the Venetian army, on dismissal he moved to Parma to join that Duke's forces. He later enlisted in Pappenheim's regiment, but after the defeat at Straubing he was absorbed into the victorious Swedish army. Two years later following the Swedish defeat at Nördlingen, he ended up back in his Imperial regiment. Some years on he faced the French, whose soldiers, once defeated in battle, all joined his side. This was followed by defeat of the Imperialists by the French, whereupon his men joined the French but he, as he was by now an officer, was allowed to return to his side. He relates this merry-go-round of side changing dispassionately.<sup>262</sup> High numbers of enemy soldiers seemingly switched sides as a matter of course, as formed units rather than individuals,<sup>263</sup> and presumably as a matter of survival rather than personal choice. Although on the last occasion this soldier was allowed to go free, for an officer becoming a prisoner was perceived as a potentially unpleasant, if not a fatal, experience:

I rather choose to die honourably, then to live and to be prisoner to a churlish fellow, that perhaps would keepe me in perpetuall bondage, as many brave men are kept; or otherwise, at my taking, to be scurvily used, being stripped naked by a Villaine, and then, if I lacked monies about me, to be cut and carved, and at last, poorely put to death...<sup>264</sup>

Monro, however, for his part seems to have treated his prisoners rather well. At Nuremberg, the officers of the Scots Imperialists were promised by Gustavus Adolphus that he would 'within three dayes...let them loose againe Ransome-free. Neverthelesse, they were kept for fives weekes with us their Country-men, where we made merry as friends'.<sup>265</sup> For ordinary soldiers, though, who could be in considerable numbers following defeat in battle, the simplest solution was to absorb them into the victor's army and there may well have been soldiers from the same nation fighting on both sides that they could join.<sup>266</sup> The alternative could be far worse: at Mentz, Monro reports the enemy

<sup>261</sup> Hexham, *Seige of Breda*, Articles of Composition, p.1.

<sup>262</sup> *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreissigjährigen Krieg* (Berlin: Academie Verlag, 1993), pp.132; 133; 135; 143; 146; 159; 160.

<sup>263</sup> Bernhard R. Kroener, ' "The Soldiers Are Very Poor, Bare, Naked, Exhausted": The Living Conditions And Organisational Structure Of Military Society During The Thirty Years' War,' in 1648. *War and Peace in Europe*, ed. by Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling (Münster/Osnabrück Conference: 1998), p.287.

<sup>264</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, I, p.24.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid*, II, p.145.

<sup>266</sup> Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567-1659*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.26

was 'put all to the sword, except the Officers that were taken Prisoners'.<sup>267</sup> This is more than literary convention, as discussed in Introduction and further investigated in the section 'Rules of War' in Chapter Four. Having assessed the odds, sometimes troops declined the fight, preferring to swap sides before a battle. During an action in Brandenburg, Monro reports: 'Upon the Castle were seaven Companies of Colonell Holks Regiment, who fearing to be blowne up by a Mine, entred in treaty, and were content to take service under his Majestie...'<sup>268</sup> In the Netherlands, the terror induced by the Duke of Alva, who had a grim reputation for executing his foes whether military or civilian, forced some soldiers to change allegiance. Following the surrender of Haarlem, Alva allowed the Germans in the pay of Orange to live, rather than be executed as was his norm, as they had 'compounded for the most part to serve the King'.<sup>269</sup> After the battle of Breitenfeld, Monro asked to replenish his depleted ranks by selecting the British (including Irish) from the 'three thousand foote prisoners that were willing to take service'. Gustavus Adolphus directed his general Baner to allow the Scots to take them, but Monro was to be disappointed:

I was overjoyed, thinking to get a recreut of old Souldiers; and the Cavalier having declared his Majesties will unto the Generall, the Generall said with all his heart I should have them, and when I had made tryall to finde out the number; there were but three Irish amongst them all, and being disappointed of a strong Recreut, I did over-see those, to follow their Camerades; and being returned, his Majesty asked me how I sped; I told his Majesty, Britaines were so farre addicted to his Majesty and the cause, that few of them served the Emperour...<sup>270</sup>

Despite Monro's rose-tinted view that British soldiers did not fight for the Emperor, which mirrors an account from Holland during the same period that makes the similar claim that Englishmen did not fight for the King of Spain,<sup>271</sup> there were many officers and soldiers who did fight for the enemy and changing sides was commonplace. In the Low Countries, Churchyard reports that in 1574 'five Ensignes of those English souldiers were constrained to step aside to theemie, contrarie to their promise to the States',<sup>272</sup> and outside Ghent Sir John Norris was 'assailed by English Rebels'.<sup>273</sup> On taking a town near Frankfurt, Monro reports 'the Souldiers [of the enemy] for the most part tooke service [with us]',<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.101.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid, II, p.18.

<sup>269</sup> Williams, *Actions*, p.99.

<sup>270</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.73.

<sup>271</sup> Hugh Peters, *Digitus Dei*, p.7.

<sup>272</sup> Churchyard, *True Discourse*, p.21.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid, p.47.

<sup>274</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.89.

and in Silesia there were 'two thousand taken prisoners that tooke service'.<sup>275</sup> Poyntz tells us that the Duke of Saxe-Weimar at Göppingen, on facing a superior force 'gave up the Towne with his whole Regiment to the service of the King of Hongary'.<sup>276</sup> Sometimes subsuming prisoners into an opposing army did not work. Monro was at Donauwörth, where 'a thousand...were forced to take service with the Regiments, but being Papists of Bavaria, as soone as they smelt the smell of their Fathers houses, in lesse than ten days they were all gone'.<sup>277</sup> Monro reports another, similar incident on crossing the Rhine after Oppenheim:

...they willing to take service were all disposed by his Majesty to Sr. John Hepburn, who was not only a Colonell to them, but a kinde Patron, putting them in good Quarters till they were armed and clad againe. But their unthankfulnesse was such, that they stayed not, but disbandoned all, in Bireland; for having once got the warme ayre of the Summer, they were all gone before Winter.<sup>278</sup>

### Subsistence and reward

A constant theme when studying the wars and soldiery of the period is that of pay and the perceived link between salaries and mercenaries. Manning contends that gentlemen in the pursuit of honour would pay their own way and distance themselves from 'the taint of profit seeking', although, in an almost immediate and direct contradiction to this, he also states that they 'believed that valour entitled them to ransom and booty as well'.<sup>279</sup> In effect, few gentlemen had the means of supporting themselves through a protracted period of warfare, and in fact rather than provide for themselves could draw higher wages than the rank and file.<sup>280</sup> Those who did have the means to assist the Queen's treasury found that she was aware of their financial position and was more than content to allow them to spend their own money on her forces and thus withheld government funding. Lord Willoughby spent over £7000 out of his own pocket to support Elizabeth's armies in the Netherlands and again dipped into his own resources for the army in France, much of it never recompensed. There was income from neither ransom nor booty to offset this expenditure, but he did earn the Queen's gratitude and the respect of his

<sup>275</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.102.

<sup>276</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.113. See also the report on the surrender of Mannheim, p.117.

<sup>277</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.114/5.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid*, II, p.92.

<sup>279</sup> Manning, *Swordsmen*, p.56.

<sup>280</sup> David J.B. Trim, 'Fighting "Jacob's Wars": The Employment of English and Welsh Mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562-1610', PhD thesis, University of London, 2002, p.282, n175.

men from which it can be assumed he felt duly rewarded.<sup>281</sup> The Earl of Essex frequently paid out of his own pocket to keep an army from disintegrating, which eventually led to his bankruptcy, and he would encourage gentlemen to follow his example and serve without pay.<sup>282</sup> The Earl of Leicester paid out an initial outlay of £35,000 of his own money in 1586 and went on to sell property and raise further loans, dying two years later in considerable debt.<sup>283</sup> Rarely did an expedition realize a profit. The Cadiz raid of 1596 did bring home a significant quantity of loot, but Essex and the Queen got little of it.<sup>284</sup> The senior soldiers themselves, the 'adventurers', contributed financially to the expedition to Portugal in 1589, clearly anticipating a return on their money, and although they received little they could nevertheless content themselves with the glory and honour they bought.<sup>285</sup>

Whatever a soldier's loyalty, whether he considered himself on a Calvinist crusade against Antichrist or had been pressed into service as a vagrant, he could not continue in his task unless he was paid or had some form of income in order to subsist. Sir Edward Cecil was well aware that money was required to affect discipline over men: 'It is one of the daungerest pointes in commaund to commaund without money, and to have little to content them, for there is nothing that will make a man more hated or slandred than that, for to punish and not to paye is ever receaved in an armie for tirannie'.<sup>286</sup>

The wars between Denmark-Norway and Sweden did not have a religious dimension, and the sixteenth-century Scot Captain David Moncur 'undertook to serve Frederick II loyally as long as his wages were paid him'.<sup>287</sup> Whether a war was fought out of arguments over Christian belief or just between Christian belligerents, financial practicalities and hardships dictated the methods utilized by leaders to augment their depleted treasuries. Money had to be raised so tax, in one form or another, had to be paid somewhere. What does a study of the published writings of soldiers add to our knowledge? The contribution system whereby armies drew from their immediate vicinity was dependent on the wealth of the countryside and, besides, according to Poyntz, 'the

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<sup>281</sup> ODNB: Peregrine Bertie. Wernham, *Expedition*, p.xxiii.

<sup>282</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, pp.178; 193. Essex spent £35,000 of his own money during the Rouen campaign, and wrote of being over £20,000 in debt prior to the Portugal expedition; Lloyd, *Rouen*, p.190; Wernham, *Expedition*, p.xxxv.

<sup>283</sup> Adams, 'Protestant Cause', p.58; 97. ODNB: Robert Dudley.

<sup>284</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, p.197.

<sup>285</sup> Wernham, *Expedition*, p.xviii.

<sup>286</sup> Stephen J. Stearns, 'Military Disorder and Martial Law,' in Buchanan Sharp and Mark Charles Fissel, eds., *Law and Authority in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), p.114.

<sup>287</sup> Riis, *Auld Acquaintance*, p.89.



souldiers got but little of it'.<sup>288</sup> Turner tells us that, after the siege of Hamlin, despite being on the victor's side and in a camp that was 'plentiful enough', he nevertheless existed on bread and water 'from want of money'.<sup>289</sup> Poyntz also tells us of the Elector of Saxony 'that he drayned the whole country dry of mony to pay hym his Composition,' therefore by the time his army reached Prague, he had to think of something else to satisfy the men. He and his Swedish ally, Baner, therefore bribed the soldiers with promise of plunder: '...encouraging their souldiers and promising them pillage, whereof the souldiers in hope were so joyfull, the Duke telling them how hee sped there that they cast away their upper Garments that they might bee the lighter to run up to skale the Walles...'<sup>290</sup> Shortly after this the Elector of Saxony himself changed sides, for the second time, and set himself against his erstwhile ally, Baner. Again the promise of pay was offered: 'if wee did beat the Ennemy out of the Country hee would give us two Moneths pay'.<sup>291</sup> In other words, soldiers who had fought side by side with an ally yesterday were today being paid to kill him. In this situation, it could still be argued that the soldiers held the continuity of serving the same leader, regardless of the change of enemy, in this case, Saxons serving their Saxon prince.

Poyntz also gives us a glimpse of the other side of the plundered coin. Not having enough to live on was one thing, but being over-burdened with stolen goods could sap an individual's will to fight. Tilly's army had, apparently, taken so much gold from Leipzig that the following day, at Breitenfeld, they were disinclined to risk losing their new found wealth and lacked the motivation to fight. Poyntz concludes: 'a rich souldier will never fight well'.<sup>292</sup> If riches were difficult to come by and more difficult to hold onto, there are rare references to men who did make a profit from war. One such individual was Colonel Edmond, who, for 'deeds of valour' subsequently 'acquired great wealth' with Maurice of Nassau, under Gustavus Adolphus 'amassed great wealth' and to his daughter 'left a magnificent fortune'.<sup>293</sup>

Although the Dutch were to achieve a comparative financial mastery during their war with the Spanish rarely achieved elsewhere in Europe, at the initial phase of the Revolt the States struggled to pay their foreign contingents. Flemish and Dutch citizens of

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<sup>288</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.68.

<sup>289</sup> Turner, *Memoirs*, p.6.

<sup>290</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.81.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid*, p.85.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid*, p.58.

<sup>293</sup> Grant, *Hepburn*, pp.14-15.

London helped to finance the deployment of English troops in the early 1570s, although this proved unreliable, and at one stage Captain Thomas Morgan reported to Burghley that 'the country is poor and out of money, and unless some prince of better ability [than William the Silent] takes the matter in hand' the troops will be forced to depart.<sup>294</sup> However after these initial difficulties the Dutch were to draw sufficient credit from their trading activities to finance their war effort; significantly the Spanish were not. Their campaigns in the Low Countries were dogged by mutinies caused through lack of pay, the effects of which were hugely detrimental to their ability to consolidate successful military initiatives. Mutinies were not lightly decided upon, and the soldiery would have spent a protracted period without pay before resorting to them as a means to convey their displeasure. Some forty-five mutinies occurred in the Spanish Army of Flanders during the period 1573 to 1607 and, whilst grim conditions and harvest failures exacerbated the situation, the fundamental grievance of the soldiers' was lack of pay. These mutinies were carried out with considerable organization, the soldiers selecting a leader, an *electo*, to represent their case to the Spanish High Command. Significantly, they did not change sides as mutiny was not treason, and an *electo* led his mutinous troops into battle at Nieuwpoort under Spanish command against the Anglo-Dutch in 1600.<sup>295</sup> They could, though, form a neutral force of belligerent men that remained a dilemma for the Spanish until they were paid off. At Hoogstraten, for instance, mutineers set up what was in effect an independent military state between 1602 and 1605, demanding contributions from the countryside far and wide. On one occasion, this force was escorted to safety in Holland by the Dutch army when threatened by a loyal element of the Spanish Army of Flanders.<sup>296</sup>

It is the premise of the historian Maury Feld that once the United Provinces had organised their finances in the efficient manner for which they are famed, the regular wage contract that resulted from this signified a fundamental shift in the relationship with its soldiers that saw the eroding of the aristocratic ethos and an undermining of the honour code. This, combined with the modernising of its structure and tactics, led to a professionalizing of the army away from the reliance on chivalry and allegiance. This view is in line with the Manning theory that the emerging professionalism, with its formalised training and the clarifying of set objectives, no longer allowed for individual

<sup>294</sup> C.S.P. Foreign, No.1163. September 13.

<sup>295</sup> J.P. Puype, 'Victory at Nieuwpoort,' in Marco van der Hoeven, ed., *Exercise of Arms* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 74-5; 96; 99.

<sup>296</sup> Parker, *Spanish Road*, pp. 160; 173n40.

and localised displays of personal virtue.<sup>297</sup> The medieval system of honour relied on morale whereas this modern approach, with its drill coordinated firearms and emphasis on logistics, saw mechanical controls and technique claim ascendancy over chivalry. Feld claims that this shift 'was analogous to the change, in industrial production, from a craft to an assembly line mode'.<sup>298</sup>

The above view, however, fails to take into account those who executed these changes. Men like Vere and Williams served in Maurice's army, not as throwbacks to a previous age, but as the cutting edge leaders in the field. The integration of the English forces with the Dutch occurred with Vere as the contingent commander, a general who would insist on leading from the front, as generals would continue to do throughout the Eighty and Thirty Years' Wars. For example, in 1632 Sir John Hepburn and Sir James Lumsden, the brigade commander and a regimental commander, advanced personally to the gates of Frankfurt (Oder), under siege by Gustavus Adolphus, and placed the petards that blew a breach through which the troops advanced. They declared their allegiance to the house of Stuart and continued to build their reputations through acts of valour despite their senior rank.<sup>299</sup> Honour cannot be discerned in one historical period and denied in another as a result of technical or financial improvements. The soldiers reviewed in this thesis, all the main sources regardless of background, theatre of war or period, have demonstrated that respect for courage in the face of the enemy was part of their psyche, and that ruses, artillery, tactics and modernisation could all be employed if it assisted the main task of defeating the enemy but could not replace the valour inherent in confronting that enemy. The Dutch for all their advanced financial arrangements continued to rely on the commitment of the individual, men like Francis the Gurmer, 'an excellent Cannonier, which [sic] had been the death of many a Spaniard'.<sup>300</sup> It should also be noted that for all the modernizations of the Dutch and Swedish armies, the enemy remained steadfast. In the Netherlands there were few battles through which to practise the new drill movements and Maurice, the great innovator, was involved in only two, one of which was a chance skirmish.<sup>301</sup> In Germany one victory in a battle did not produce the winner of the war, and

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<sup>297</sup> Maury D. Feld, *The Structure Of Violence: Armed Forces as Social Systems* (Beverly Hills and London: Sage), 1977, p.174.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid, p.179.

<sup>299</sup> Grant, *Hepburn*, p.75.

<sup>300</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.169,

<sup>301</sup> The 'action' at Turnhout, Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.72. The other was Nieuupoort, a full battle that hung in the balance until the commitment of Maurice's reserve; *ibid*, p.81.

after its initial successes the Swedish army was to suffer crushing defeats against an Imperialist army not famed for its modernisation.

## Conclusion

Historians have debated the motivations of the soldiery, and whether participation was driven by religious or secular factors. When we examine the publications of soldiers we read of the motivations that they wished to declare and with which they wished to convince. On occasion we are able to suggest the accuracy or otherwise of such declarations. Sometimes we are able to indicate why such motivations were emphasised. More often than not, however, we are forced to accept their statements at face value, merely issuing a caveat that this is what we are doing.

An exploration of the published writings of several individual soldiers has allowed us to consider further what constituted a soldier's honour, how the word seems to have been understood in the early modern period, and which individuals adhered to the definition. We have also discussed how honour related to extant concepts of loyalty, and whether or not the two phenomena were in contention, as maintained by Manning. Sir John Hale saw the soldier's honour directly linked to his loyalty. The use historians have tended to make of these words and their handling of the issues appears somewhat perfunctory, as they seek to support a seemingly inevitable and transparent progression from medieval to modern. The Dutch are seen as progressive in military affairs, with the modernizations of Maurice generally recognised as 'revolutionary', and the effect on the soldiery therefore equally radical. If we step back from the historians' 'modernising' interpretation, we can see that in fact, the Dutch forces suffered setbacks as well as victories, and their final, arguably partial victory was eight decades in the making. Honour still played a vital part in motivating the individual, regardless of new drill movements and scientific manuals: war was becoming scientific but it was nevertheless still an art. We may demonstrate this by using an under-used source: the published works of soldiers. To the soldiers whose writings we have studied, for whom warfare was permanent employment and who had witnessed many years of frightful combat, fighting potentially to the death was the most honourable of vocations, and their commitment was total and often tested through the penury they were forced to endure. Often little else other than honour justified continuance in the profession; even the stout-hearted Williams came close to

quitting on occasion, but out of frustration and poor conditions, not through fear of being killed.<sup>302</sup> For some, notably Monro, honour was matched by a fierce loyalty, a need to underwrite their efforts with a substantial cause. Poyntz, unable to suitably justify his *raison d'être* or articulate a worthwhile cause, nevertheless fought with the same selfless courage. Williams and Vere acknowledged the authority of their Queen; there is no hint of dissidence, and they fought, for the most part, for her allies and certainly never for her enemies. Their loyalty was sound, but largely unconnected with their performance on the battlefield. With the possible exception of Hexham, whose personal involvement at push of pike we have no real visibility, they were courageous to the extent that an explanation must be sought for their actions, and that explanation is their acute perception of honour.

The perspectives expressed by the main sources are those of officers who had a firm enough opinion to record their view for posterity (or who, as in the case of Hexham, had a potentially profitable second career as a writer). What of the soldiers under whom they served? Were the conceptions of honour and loyalty similarly shared? Given the many accounts of bloody assaults on fortified positions by large numbers of rank and file, seemingly they were. There was also a recorded case of 'simple soldiers' preventing the desertion of their officers to the enemy.<sup>303</sup> But these British soldiers, and many of their European colleagues, were not fighting on home soil, and for all the multi-national forces and religious movements that claimed European-wide membership, and created the great cultural melting pot that was the Europe of which the British Isles were part,<sup>304</sup> nevertheless a notable localism prevailed.<sup>305</sup> It is clear that loyalty often had to be bought, and I have commented on the tendency for units and individuals to change sides. Of note are the Scots and English attacking their Danish allies, and the financial difficulties the English experienced with the Dutch. There are several other examples during the period of alliances not working effectively, where cooperation between national groups had the potential to affect the turn of events but failed. Strategically, the Protestant Union failed on a large scale. At a more tactical level, the Spanish contingent that landed at Smerwick in Ireland in 1580 and built a fortification subsequently all died defending it without any

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<sup>302</sup> Evans, *Works*, pp.xxi; xxx; xxxi.

<sup>303</sup> Nolan, *Sir John Norreys*, p.54.

<sup>304</sup> '...what we continue to call 'the causes of the English civil war' relate...to a series of wars within Britain that were part of a series of wars within Europe...' Scott, *England's Troubles*, p.23.

<sup>305</sup> For example, in England during the English Civil War: 'Localism surfaces repeatedly in the peace movements, but it is also frequently reflected in the behaviour of many people who appear to have taken sides.' David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.174.

support from the Irish.<sup>306</sup> At a local level but with strategic consequences, at Kinsale in 1601 the Spanish force did not engage the English army, even though the combined forces of Don Juan del Águila and Hugh O'Neill outnumbered Lord Mountjoy's army significantly: Mountjoy defeated the Irish who stood alone, subsequently forcing the Spanish to surrender.<sup>307</sup> Individuals were able to identify with their 'country' rather than just their monarch or county, particularly when abroad. 'They die as fast as if God were not well pleased that a stranger should command our nation',<sup>308</sup> commented one English officer of the Mansfeld campaign in Germany. Those who left home to fight abroad left behind their 'county' but could still be serving their 'country'. They may have ended up serving with men from other parts of Britain, who, after overcoming the initial difficulties with accents at least spoke English whereas most Europeans could not, and shared a common heritage. Despite these very real challenges to any grand strategy that sought to bind soldiers from differing national, linguistic, religious and political backgrounds, and above all despite the lack of funds that were required for them to subsist, there nevertheless existed a common belief in the concept of honour. This concept sometimes combined with a loyalty to an individual, house or cause and sometimes not, and it regulated the behaviour of the individuals within armies as much, if not more than the martial law they were all subject to. Perhaps this comment by Monro, describing the collapse of Protestant unity in Germany, brings together the elements to which a professional soldier, but certainly not a mercenary, owed his creed:

But when our fellowes in friendship faile us, as the Evangelists one after another, for a skurvy losse, quit the Crowne of Sweden, the great Duke of Saxon having left them first, *breaking his oath and promise*, in prejudice of the *publique peace*, excluding the Protestants impiously for his owne aimes, he did *prejudice the Gospell, his country, and confederates*, and by his evill example: for plaine necessity, while a storme should blow over the townes of the Upper Circle of the Empire, as Strasburg, Ulme, Nurenberg & Francford did accept of an unsettled peace, *contrary to their mindes*, in *prejudice of the publique*, losing themselves and the publique, for the losse of one day, being without their head, which first brought them together.<sup>309</sup>

<sup>306</sup> Christopher Duffy, *Siege Warfare: The Fortress in the Early Modern World 1494-1660* (London and New York: Routledge, 1979), p.143.

<sup>307</sup> Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1994), p.300.

<sup>308</sup> Quoted in Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p.2.

<sup>309</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.106, my italics.

## Chapter Four

### The experience of soldiers

#### Introduction

This chapter focuses on what the published writings of soldiers reveal of the realities of war, the 'micro-experience' of early modern soldiers and the extent to which their world view was dominated by the conflicts in which they were embroiled.<sup>1</sup> It analyses the information provided by those individuals personally involved in military affairs at various levels and shows how that information was conveyed through print. It is not concerned with the closed political information of state papers or the correspondence of civilian government officials, vying for favour at court or intriguing within factions. Instead it concentrates on information about life in the field, at the front line confronting the enemy. This information was available to contemporaries who could read and were inclined to learn about the subject. Concern over the defence of the nation was a major issue for all during the reign of Elizabeth, which led to the increase in demand for military literature. In the relative peace of the Stuart era the European conflicts still resonated at home, with Robert Ward commenting as late as 1639: '...our neighbours house is of a light fire, their Townes and Towers burne like Beacons: We know not howe soon their flame may catch hold of our owne buildings'.<sup>2</sup>

In the previous chapters it has been shown how these authors indicated through their accounts how much they believed God played a role in the outcome of their endeavours, to what extent their loyalty was retained in the face of considerable adversity and to what degree, if at all, their commitment was shaken by their experiences. Even if these beliefs were not genuine, and usually there is no reason to suspect them, we know that the authors thought it appropriate to express them. Practical matters regarding the manner in which armies were recruited, formed, administered and fought are also to be found within these accounts. Soldiers tell us from their own point of view how the military units in which they served presented themselves for their tasks, and how effective they were in applying current tactics and using available equipment. The approach of this

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<sup>1</sup> The phrase is used by Jeremy Black, in an article on early modern military change where he encourages 'a more cultural approach, for example on the experience of war': 'Was there a Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe?', *History Today*, July 2008, Vol. 58, Issue 7, pp.34-41.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Ward, *Animadversions Of Warre* (London, 1639), Epistle to the Earl of Warwick.

chapter, as with the thesis as a whole, is to view warfare from the experience of life at the front-line, and such an approach must draw its information from the soldiers themselves. However, historians have used alternative sources to describe contemporary warfare, and this chapter will attempt to show where the works of soldiers verify, contradict or challenge an account based upon those other sources. Historians, it has been said, have 'too often and too easily removed the individual soldiers and their leaders from the military historical equation',<sup>3</sup> and it is the aim of this thesis, and this chapter specifically, to present the view of the actual participants in war and, where appropriate, to compare that view with the opinions historians have formed from other, wider and more traditional sources.

### **Order of battle: the structure and arming of early-modern armies<sup>4</sup>**

From the information contained within soldiers' printed works, we are able to discern how contemporaries viewed their organisation, equipment and effectiveness. The soldier Robert Barret tells us that most of his contemporaries of the period were foot soldiers, without horses except 'for some officers and sick persons',<sup>5</sup> infantrymen who carried a pike or a firearm (arquebus or musket).<sup>6</sup> The pike, 'the Queene and mistresse of weapons',<sup>7</sup> was an eighteen foot long spear,<sup>8</sup> used in a defensive holding role not thrown, and the most widely deployed weapon of the sixteenth century. By the seventeenth century its dominant position had been challenged by firearms, the wheelock replacing the

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<sup>3</sup> Kelly DeVries, 'Catapults Are Not Atomic Bombs: Towards a Redefinition of 'Effectiveness' in Premodern Military Technology', *War in History*, 1997, Vol. 4, Issue 4, p.454-470; quote p.454.

<sup>4</sup> Although all armies on the continent were multi-national, companies were formed in national groupings. By way of an exception proving this rule, Williams said of the defenders of Harlem: 'Amongst whom were some 200 English, in sundry Companies; without an Ensigne of their owne'. Sir Roger Williams, *The Actions of the Low Countries* (London, 1618), p.88.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Barret, *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (London, 1598), p.101. Barret's experience was 'after the Italian & Spaniard...with whom I have most frequented and served', p.15.

<sup>6</sup> Although there may not have been a difference between the two types of firearm: David A. Parrott, 'Strategy and Tactics in the Thirty Years' War', in Clifford J. Rogers, ed., *The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), p.229, n30.

<sup>7</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, p.35.

<sup>8</sup> The pike was ideally 'of ground Ashe, of seventeen or eighteen foote long at the least,' *ibid*, p.34, although it was often made shorter by, and for the convenience of, pikemen.



matchlock arquebus as the century wore on.<sup>9</sup> This weapon, difficult to handle but,<sup>10</sup> crucially, able to pierce armour, had a very limited range, although as far as Sir Edward Cecil was concerned in 1621 it was entirely adequate: '200 paces is as much as a mans ayme will serve to hitt any reasonable mark in the world and that our musquets will reach and what shold we then doe with longer, except it be for somm particular occasions or sorts?''<sup>11</sup> The infantry, or 'foot', would walk between locations or, whenever possible, embark a vessel arranged by the general in order to deploy by river or along the coast because of the difficulty particularly in wet weather of navigating the roads.<sup>12</sup> Dragoons and cavalry, the 'horse,' would deploy on horseback, the dragoons dismounting to fight while the cavalry, on heavier horses, were intended to charge the enemy infantry.<sup>13</sup> The use of the pike by infantry units was intended in large part 'to receyve the violent charge of Horsemen,'<sup>14</sup> and they were effective in this regard,<sup>15</sup> hence the comparative decline of cavalry during the early modern period in Europe. Mounted soldiers also attacked enemy supply lines and formed the reconnaissance element of an army, thus providing a commander with much of his intelligence regarding the location and strength of the enemy. Sir Roger Williams explained:

...the service of all Light horsemen, consists chieflie in marching great marches...to surprise Companies a farre off in their lodgings, or marches; likewise to defeat convoyes, & to conduct convoyes, as much to say, direct it to spoyle necessities that come to furnish their enemies, & to conduct necessities to furnish their own

<sup>9</sup> Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine and Death in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.115.

<sup>10</sup> Exercising with the musket required training and dexterity; Jacob de Gheyn, *The Exercise of Armes* (London, 1607) shows demonstrations of the movements, as does Henry Hexham, *The Principles of the Art Militarie Practised in the Warres of the United Netherlands* (London, 1637); 143 different command words were required according to Bernhard R. Kroener, "'The Soldiers Are Very Poor, Bare, Naked, Exhausted': The Living Conditions And Organisational Structure Of Military Society During The Thirty Years' War," in Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling, eds., 1648. *War and Peace in Europe* (Münster/Osnabrück Conference, 1998), p.285.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1967), p.114.

<sup>12</sup> As much use as possible was made of inland waterways, often the flow of a river dictating strategy or a commander's objective; Paul Scannell, 'Water in Warfare: Obstacle or Aid in Early Modern Europe?' *British Army Review*, Spring 2006, No. 139. Although safer than the open sea, inland waterways were not always reliable, one German soldier reporting the sinking of a ship on the Rhine with only five survivors out of 120 on board, *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreissigjährigen Krieg* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p.157.

<sup>13</sup> Sir James Turner commented that, although on horseback, 'their service is on foot, and is no other than that of musketeers'; Peter Young, *Edgehill 1642* (Moreton-in-Marsh: Windrush, 1995), p.19. Dragoons were able to carry out surprise attacks due to their superior mobility; Kroener, 'Soldiers Are Very Poor', p.286.

<sup>14</sup> William Garrard, *The Arte of Warre*, ed. by Captain Hichcock (London, 1591), p.7.

<sup>15</sup> But, as one veteran pointed out, only if the pike was longer than the cavalryman's lance, the pikeman's habit of shortening his pike to make it more manageable being detrimental to his cause in battle. Humfrey Barwick, *A Breefe Discourse, Concerning the force and effect of all manuall weapons of fire, and the disability of the Long Bowe or Archery, in respect of others of greater force now in use* (London, 1592), p.34.

camp or service. Also to scout and discover, to spare the armed men, I mean the Lautiers, & the other horsmen, likewise both to conduct & spoile forragers...

The works of John Cruso some forty years later would indicate that little had changed:

[The cavalry] must principally be employed to travell and molest the enemy, sometime by hindering him from his victual, sometime by endamaging his forragers, sometime by sending some troops even up to his campe to take some bootie, by that means to draw him forth, and to make him fall upon some embuscadoe disposed beforehand in some fitting place.

Parma used his cavalry to confuse the enemy prior to laying a siege, by sweeping across the countryside, finally settling on the chosen town and cutting it off from its neighbours.<sup>16</sup>

Early-modern readership would have been aware of the rising importance of infantry over cavalry in the previous century as the methods of waging war developed out of the Italian Wars,<sup>17</sup> and soldiers' writings provide emphatic evidence of the traditional rivalry between cavalry and infantry units during this period. Cavalrymen were required, if not to supply a horse at least to be able to ride one, so they tended to be drawn from a higher position in society than those enlisted into the infantry. There was also a pecking order in the infantry. 'The pike' claimed Robert Monro, in agreement with Barret though writing some forty years later, was 'the most honourable of all weapons, and my choice in day of battell'.<sup>18</sup> Monro, as Barret, was probably reflecting the social distinction that placed the pike firmly above the musket as officers trained soldiers in its use, while 'the Musquet is in the Office of the Serjeant'.<sup>19</sup> In the late Elizabethan period pikemen were,

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<sup>16</sup> Sir Roger Williams, *A Briefe Discourse of Warre* (London, 1590), p.33. John Cruso, *Military Instructions for the Cavallrie* (Cambridge, 1632), p.89. Christopher Duffy, *Siege Warfare: The Fortress in the Early Modern World 1494-1660* (London: Routledge, 1979), p.73. J.X. Evans, ed., *The Works of Sir Roger Williams* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p.cxi.

<sup>17</sup> Bert S. Hall, *Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe: Gunpowder, Technology, and Tactics* (Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), esp. Chapter 6, 'Firearms in Warfare (II): The Sixteenth Century', pp.156-200.

<sup>18</sup> Robert Monro, *Monro His Expedition With The Worthy Scots Regiment (Called Mac-Keyes Regiment) levied in August 1626* (London, 1637), II, p.192.

<sup>19</sup> Francis Markham, *Five Decades of Epistles of Warre* (London, 1622), p.79. It could also be argued that, with 'the Colours flying upon the head of them,' pikes would be a rallying point, and hence a command post in battle, as suggested by Richard Elton, *The Compleat Body of the Art Military* (London, 1659), Book 1, p.2. Contrarily, the clergyman Donald Lupton in his *A Warre-like Treatise of the Pike* (London, 1642), Sect XI, recommends use of the musket and half-pike over the traditional pike.

apparently, 'for the most part gentlemen'.<sup>20</sup> Whatever the case, Monro served on foot and regarding infantry over cavalry he stressed both tactical and financial advantages.<sup>21</sup>

...Horse-men are usefull many times...yet in my opinion, in their service, they are not to be paralleled to foot: For at the taking in of Townes, and in the hilly and mountainous Countries, that are straight by nature, they are not usefull, neither can they doe but little service, yet for their great charges, they are much harder to be entertained: Therefore my choice shall be ever, as most credible to command on foote, and if I were worthy to advise a King...I would wish him to esteeme more of his foot Officers, than of his horse: then fewer would serve on horsebacke, and more on foote, and as his Charges should be lesse, his profit should be the more, his Armie the stronger, his Countrey lesse spoyld, his contribution to maintaine his Armie, the better paid, his treasure richer, his Victories more frequent, and more durable, his Conquest the better maintained.<sup>22</sup>

There was no love lost between the two: on boarding vessels bound for Denmark following the retreat from Oldenburg, Monro and his infantry attacked their own cavalry, who were about to take up much of the shipping space with their horses: 'I advanced with our Colours amongst the peere, our Pikes charged we cleared the Peere of the Horsemen...until such time as the most part of our Regiment were shipped...'<sup>23</sup>

Sir Francis Vere, when not defending a siege, served on horseback. He was further up the chain of command than Monro, which may explain why he rode into battle. He also, however, commented that 'most commonly in battels the successe of the foot dependeth upon that of the horse', although he admitted that at the battle of Nieuwpoort in 1600 the victory was 'clean contrary' to that theory.<sup>24</sup> However, it should be remembered that Vere, despite being a veteran of many years service and several sieges, had little experience of battles. Turnhout in 1598 was his only previous encounter though a large skirmish rather than a major battle, and one that was carried solely by the horse.<sup>25</sup> Vere's lack of battle experience is a reflection on the age. The Eighty Years' War saw few engagements that have been labelled 'battles'.<sup>26</sup> If Turnhout is considered a skirmish, Vere experienced the only pitched battle, at Nieuwpoort, that occurred during his time at

<sup>20</sup> Barwick, *Breefe Discourse*, p.23.

<sup>21</sup> Certainly at times he was mounted, as he recounts a fall from a horse which left him seriously injured; Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.173. It is probable that a horse to Monro was a form of transport that he enjoyed as an officer, rather than a factor that defined his method of combat.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, I, p.24.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, I, p.27.

<sup>24</sup> William Dillingham, ed., *The Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere* (Cambridge, 1657), p.100.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 77-79.

<sup>26</sup> There were, of course, only sixty-eight years of actual combat, as the Twelve Year Truce has to be taken into account.

war.<sup>27</sup> Robert Barret commented that ‘the conduction of our warres now a dayes, doth consist more in surprises, assaults, and batteries, then open field fight’.<sup>28</sup> So these primary sources confirm Sir John Hale’s eloquently phrased comment that battles in this period were ‘infrequent arias within the long-drawn-out recitatives of war’.<sup>29</sup> In the Thirty Years’ War, clashes between large armies were more common, but nevertheless equally indecisive. After Gustavus Adolphus crushed Tilly at Breitenfeld, where the Imperialist general lost two-thirds of his force, he was still able to raise another army and challenge the Swedes at Rain the following year.<sup>30</sup> Monro reports that Tilly, having had his army shattered on 7 September 1631, was able to check Gustavus’ army a month later at Wurtzburg Castle with 50,000 men.<sup>31</sup>

These authors also had something useful to say about what they understood of army organisation and how they viewed it. Men were formed into companies, commanded by a captain, who in turn served his colonel; the colonel thus commanded a number of companies that formed his regiment. This regimental commander would also have his own company within the regiment, responsibility for which he devolved to another officer, usually a captain-lieutenant. In the Netherlands it was not unusual for a colonel to command both an infantry regiment and a troop (or ‘cornet’) of horse, with such pluralism leading to unavoidable absenteeism. There were between one hundred and three hundred men in a company,<sup>32</sup> but this could be reduced through enemy action and disease; Hexham reports companies ‘not above ten or twelve men strong’ at Ostend.<sup>33</sup> Monro’s regiment was decimated at the battle of Lützen, with only enough survivors to form one company.<sup>34</sup> The early seventeenth-century French army saw the ideal number for a company as 100,

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<sup>27</sup> Williams, *Actions*, pp. 16/17; 22/23. Dillingham, *Commentaries*, pp. 81-117. L.L. Doedens, ‘“The Day the Nation was Born.” The Battle of Heiligerlee, 1568,’ in Marco van der Hoeven, ed., *Exercise of Arms: Warfare in the Netherlands (1558 – 1648)* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp.62-68. Clements R. Markham, *The Fighting Veres* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1888), pp. 256-260; 296-302. J.P. Puype, ‘Victory at Nieuwpoort, 2 July 1600,’ in Van Der Hoeven, *Exercise of Arms*, pp. 97-111. C.V. Wedgwood, *William the Silent* (London: Phoenix, 1944), pp.105-108.

<sup>28</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, p.94.

<sup>29</sup> J.R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe 1450 – 1620* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1998), p. 128.

<sup>30</sup> Geoffrey Parker, ed., *The Thirty Years’ War* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 113-116.

<sup>31</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.79.

<sup>32</sup> Monro gives the ideal strength of a company at 150; II, p.183. Williams gives the strength of a Spanish cornet as 100; *Briefe Discourse*, p.18. The fluctuations of company size in Scots units in the Netherlands is discussed in James Ferguson, ed., *Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands 1572-1782* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1899), p.xiv. A theoretical full-strength company during the Thirty Years’ War was 300, although this was rarely achieved, Kroener, ‘Soldiers Are Very Poor’, p.286.

<sup>33</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.167.

<sup>34</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, title page.

but accepted the reality of 60.<sup>35</sup> The recommendation of Francis Markham was also that companies should be 100 strong (although 'it is in the Captaines power to make his Squadrons bigger or lesse at his own pleasure'), with the smallest administrative unit being the section, or *camarado* commanded by a 'deputie corporall' or *lanspesado*, 'each containing twelve persons, that is to say, ten sentinels, one Gentleman, and a *Lanspesado*.' The 'corporall' then commanded a 'squadron' of two *camarados* containing twenty-four men, four squadrons making the company, with one sergeant responsible for two squadrons.<sup>36</sup> The captain commanded the company, assisted by his lieutenant and a number of ensigns.<sup>37</sup> The term 'captain' was also generic, referring to a senior soldier who commanded, or had commanded, a unit thus confusingly a colonel of a regiment could also be referred to as 'captain'.<sup>38</sup>

### Weapons and wounds

The narratives of these military men fully express how soldiers were expected to incapacitate the enemy, the dangers they faced from that enemy, and the effectiveness of their equipment. Weapons continued throughout the period to be a mix of blades and firearms, and there was no standardization by weapon type.<sup>39</sup> Despite an increasingly effective use of artillery, discussed below, and a growing ratio of muskets over pikes as the period progressed, there were no great advancements in technology where possession of a particular weapon type determined the outcome of battle. One historian has observed that 'no one living...in the early modern period looked at the weapons which they used and described their effectiveness with the words "decisive", "invincible", or "revolutionary"'.<sup>40</sup> But they did, as will be seen, describe certain weapons as either modern or outdated. Indeed one sees the soldiers actively engaged in a debate about the pros and cons of

<sup>35</sup> Parrott, 'Strategy', p.230.

<sup>36</sup> Francis Markham, *Epistles*, pp. 61-72; quotes from page 65. He later contradicts the figure of 100, giving 200 as the ideal strength of a company; p.162.

<sup>37</sup> Ranks may have been becoming more clearly defined by Markham's day, or perhaps his work is an effort to clarify a potentially blurred system. In the Elizabethan era, Churchyard muddies the water by describing the lieutenant colonels of the (Navy) Squadrons and the Corporals of the Watch all as captains. Thomas Churchyard, *A True Discourse Historicall, of the Succeeding Governors in the Netherlands, and the Civill Warres there begun in the yeere 1565* (London, 1602), p.113.

<sup>38</sup> It is incorrect to describe Sir Roger Williams as having the 'double rank' of captain-colonel; he was a senior military leader (a 'captain') who at times commanded as a 'colonel'; Evans, *Works*, p.cxli. Perhaps the term 'captain' in this wider sense should be read as the early modern equivalent to today's term 'officer'.

<sup>39</sup> 'But one thing I doo wish, that the Collonelles should take such order with their Captaines, that every severall band be armed and weaponed alike...', Barwick, *Breefe Discourse*, p.8.

<sup>40</sup> DeVries, 'Catapults Are Not Atomic Bombs', p.470.

particular weapons. Thus they may reflect a contemporary debate about the respective advantages of various weapons, and this is discussed below.

A blade remained a weapon until it was broken, but gunpowder and lead would run out after prolonged engagements without re-supply. At the siege of Ostend, when firearms became ineffective as ammunition ran low with the Anglo-Dutch force, the defenders utilised anything that was capable of inflicting fatal or debilitating injury on the enemy:

...upon the top of the breach, and along the curtain of the old town were set firkins of ashes to be tumbled down the wall upon the enemy to blinde them; also little firkins with frize-ruyters, or quadrant tenter-nails, three flicking in the ground, and one upright; which were likewise to be cast down the rampier to prick them, when they sought to enter. Then many great heaps of stones, and brick-bats, which the souldiers brought from the old Church they had shot down, to throw amongst them: then we had ropes of pitch, hoops bound about with squibs and fireworks to throw among them; great store of hand-grenadoes, and clubs, which we called Hercules-clubs, with heavy heads of wood, and nails driven into the squares of them.<sup>41</sup>

The major technological change from medieval warfare was the ascendancy of firearms over bows, which was confirmed by the start of this period. However, a curious ambivalence displayed by central and county government in England, and the open hostility of gentlemen such as Sir John Smythe towards firearms saw a background debate continue for many years.<sup>42</sup> This debate, central to the discussion of the 'military revolution' theory posited by certain historians, can be traced through the printed works of soldiers. Smythe, a soldier in his early years, published a defence of the bow in 1590.<sup>43</sup> Smythe hailed from an older generation who would have seen the bow in action, operated by well-trained archers brought up in its use. Drawing on his experience during the 1550s and 1560s in France, the Low Countries and Hungary,<sup>44</sup> he could not accept the 'vaine and frivolous objections against our Archerie', nor accept that 'newe fashions and fancies' should undermine its continued deployment.<sup>45</sup> He argued that the bow had a faster rate of

<sup>41</sup> Henry Hexham's account of the siege of Ostend in Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.170.

<sup>42</sup> Paul Scannell, 'From Bow to Musket: The Development of the Early Modern Personal Weapon,' *British Army Review*, No. 136, Spring 2005, pp.64-82.

<sup>43</sup> Sir John Smythe, *Certain Discourses* (London, 1590). He had his supporters; Barwick believed 'very many [were] addicted to the opinion of Syr John Smith', Barwick, *Breefe Discourse*, Dedication to Lord Carey. The supportive publication by R.S., *A Brieve Treatise, To proove the necessitie and excellence of the use of archerie* (London, 1596), Cockle suggests was produced on behalf of the bowyers and fletchers, 'whose trade was declining as fire-arms were improving'; Maurice J.D. Cockle, *A Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642 and of Contemporary Foreign Works* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1900 - General Books Edition), p.62.

<sup>44</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, hereafter *ODNB*: Sir John Smythe.

<sup>45</sup> Smythe, *Certain Discourses*, Proëme Dedicatorie.

fire, that it was not subject to misfire through wet weather or incompetent handling, had a greater range and better accuracy, and that all these factors resulted in the archer having more impact on the enemy when compared with 'Mosquettiers' and 'Harquebuziers'.<sup>46</sup> It would appear a logical and sound argument, and at least one historian has commented that the longbow was replaced at a time when it was still a superior weapon to the available firearms that superseded it.<sup>47</sup> It was also a debate that extended beyond purely military circles. Roger Ascham, who was not a soldier but a scholar and one-time tutor to Elizabeth I, wrote a defence of archery for Henry VIII, himself a champion of the bow. This work was reproduced in 1571 and 1589.<sup>48</sup> There was a fear in some circles that a deterioration in morality would accompany the withdrawal of the bow, as 'unlawful games' such as bowls, dice and cards came to replace archery practice on church holidays.<sup>49</sup> This view was supported at the highest level, with a printed proclamation issued by Elizabeth I four times during her reign directing all those responsible for children from the age of seven to purchase 'bowes and arrowes' for them and ensure they practised regularly. Similarly worded proclamations were issued by James I and Charles I, with the last dated 1632.<sup>50</sup>

One issue central to the demise of archery was lack of training, the reduction in Sunday practice through boyhood that was required in order for an adult archer to release an arrow accurately and with full, armour-piercing power. Such practice had largely disappeared, probably due to 'living in long peace without any...exercises Militarie',<sup>51</sup> and that resulted in the 'greatlie decaied' number of archers over a period of some three or four decades since Smythe's active service.<sup>52</sup>

The works studied to some degree show a generational difference regarding this issue. To the professional soldier who had not been brought up since childhood practising archery or seen the effect of arrows in battle from men who had, firearms were the modern weapons of continental warfare and no argument based on history and tradition (Smythe

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid, pp.20-29.

<sup>47</sup> Thomas Esper, 'The Replacement of the Longbow by Firearms in the English Army', *Technology and Culture*, 6:3 (1965: Summer), pp.382-393, quote p.393.

<sup>48</sup> Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus, The Schole of shootinge conteyned in two bookes* (London, 1545). ODNB: Roger Ascham.

<sup>49</sup> Esper, 'Replacement of the Long Bow', p.392.

<sup>50</sup> These are listed at Serial 5 of Appendix 3. This conservative reaction could be a symptom of a wider, cultural reluctance to adapt: Jeremy Black, *War and the Cultural Turn* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), p.159.

<sup>51</sup> Smythe, *Certain Discourses*, p.28.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, p.27.

drew on memories of Crecy, Agincourt and Poitiers<sup>53</sup>) could discontinue their use. Sir Roger Williams well understood that trained archers were hard to find: '...among 5000 bowmen, you shall not find 1000 good Archers', reducing in a short period of time in the field so that one could 'hardlie finde of 5000 scarce 500 able to make anie strong shootes'.<sup>54</sup> Williams also denied that an arrow could pierce armour, a crucial negative, and believed that arrows were hard to come by and that 'ill weather weakeneth the bowes'.<sup>55</sup> Both Smythe and Williams published in 1590; two years later the soldier Humfrey Barwick compared the two works in his own publication. Barwick claimed to have experience of archery in battle (as an observer, not an operator), and yet still argued the superiority of firearms, believing bows led to more bloodshed as the belligerents closed on each other whereas firearms kept them apart.<sup>56</sup> Muskets and arquebuses, Barwick maintained, had a faster rate of fire, were more accurate and more reliable in bad weather, although he did acknowledge the need for training as to fire the arquebus 'is but folly without exercise'.<sup>57</sup> To Barwick, Sir John Smythe was on the wrong side chronologically of the 'military revolution', and should consider that 'thinges in times past, and now in these our times doo differ'.<sup>58</sup>

Attempts at innovative ideas with traditional weapons such as William Neade's 'double-armed man', which suggested the combination of the bow with the pike, had little impact on the increasing reliance on gunpowder and firearms.<sup>59</sup> The bow as a mainstream weapon seems to have remained in use in Scotland, where the Highlanders were equipped with it during the Bishops' Wars and the Civil Wars, but elsewhere it had become obsolete by this time except for specific tasks such as attaching propaganda leaflets to arrows and firing them into besieged towns in order to lower morale or setting thatched roofs alight; 'it is good to have certain strong bows to shoot fiery shafts' advised the gunner Thomas Smith in 1627.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid, pp.31-33.

<sup>54</sup> Williams, *Briefe Discourse*, p.46.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p.47.

<sup>56</sup> Barwick, *Breefe Discourse*, Dedication 'To all skilfull Captaines and Souldiours': 'I entered to be a souldier at the age of 18...at which time our English Archers were in force and greatly used'. The paragraph on 'the cause of more bloodshed' is somewhat illogical but infers an increase in the rate of fire from firearms (a discussion found in the main text) which would keep the two sides apart.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, pp.17-21, quote p.17.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, Dedication 'To all skilfull Captaines and Souldiours'.

<sup>59</sup> William Neade, *The Double-Armed Man* (London, 1625).

<sup>60</sup> Thomas Smith, *Certaine Additions to the Booke of Gunnery* (London, 1627), p.55. Roger B. Manning, *An Apprenticeship of Arms: The Origins of the British Army 1585-1702* (Oxford University Press, 2006), p.251. Nolan claims Sir John Norris had bowmen who were designated as scouts: John S. Nolan, *Sir John Norreys and the Elizabethan Military World* (University of Exeter, 1997), p.23; Scannell, 'Bow to Musket', p.66.



Gunpowder was produced by mixing sulphur, charcoal and saltpetre, and there were many recipes involving the addition of a variety of other ingredients in the early-modern period.<sup>61</sup> It had been around long before the advent of the 'military revolution' period, although its inconsistent usage has caused historians a degree of difficulty in accurately determining its progress and assessing its wider effects on the formation of the early-modern state.<sup>62</sup> Examination of the soldiers' own writings could be helpful here. Although generally considered to be the invention of the devil, those who used it held an enormous advantage over those who did not or had run out.<sup>63</sup> It was subject to decay, in that the elements separated after periods of time or exposure to wet weather, which rendered it useless, but while it was active it was notoriously unstable, and there are many examples of accidental explosions. Sir Francis Vere tells of the death of Count Meurs, governor of Gelderland, who was 'so sorely burnt' following an explosion 'that he died within few dayes after';<sup>64</sup> ten barrels of gunpowder were accidentally ignited at the action at Fort Crozon, Brittany, in 1594, burning fifty Englishmen;<sup>65</sup> and Robert Monro was 'pittifully burnt' and a hundred others killed when powder exploded in the church of an Imperial town that was being taken by Danish forces.<sup>66</sup> Soldiers carried powder in bandoliers thrown around themselves like sashes, and 'when they take fire, they commonly wound and often kill him who wears them, for likely if one bandolier takes fire all the rest do in that collar'.<sup>67</sup> Goodrick sounds a note of caution regarding the reporting of these events: 'Such explosions occur with irritating regularity, as an excuse for defeat, in every battle of the Thirty Years' War'.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless many of these accidents were undoubtedly genuine and gunpowder represented a significant danger if used inexpertly.

Soldiers were abundantly and painfully aware that the weapons and techniques themselves could present a greater danger to the operator than to the enemy. At Breda a

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<sup>61</sup> For instance, see Robert Norton, *The Gunner, Shewing the Whole Practice of Artillerie* (London, 1628), p.144.

<sup>62</sup> Kelly DeVries, 'Gunpowder Weaponry and the Rise of the Early Modern State', *War in History*, Vol 5 (2), 1998, pp.127-45.

<sup>63</sup> J.R. Hale, *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon, 1983), p.217; Evans, *Works*, p.cxxxiii; Scannell, 'Bow to Musket', p.67.

<sup>64</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.3.

<sup>65</sup> R.B. Wernham, 'Assault on Spain's Atlantic Economy', in D.J.B. Trim and Mark Charles Fissel, eds., *Amphibious Warfare 1000-1700: Commerce, State Formation and European Expansion* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), p.199.

<sup>66</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, I, p.51.

<sup>67</sup> Lord Orrery, quoted in C.H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, Second Edition (Uckfield: Naval & Military Press, facsimile from 1911), p.82.

<sup>68</sup> Introduction to A.T.S. Goodrick, ed., *The Relation of Sydenham Poyntz* (London: Royal Historical Society, Camden Third Series, 1908), p.35.

mine being activated 'made not that operation as was expected, for it sprung backward in the worke to our owne great disadvantage;' and later at the same siege 'wee shott a great Granado of 180 pound weight, which flew into the Towne almost as farre as the great Church, and breaking with a great violence, a peece of the bullet rebounded, and flew back againe into our Horne-worke'.<sup>69</sup> When Charles I entered Newcastle in 1633 one of the guns fired in his honour exploded killing three men and wounding several others.<sup>70</sup>

These authors also commented on the impact of new weapons on the types of injury suffered by soldiers. The increase in gunpowder usage and associated projectile weapons saw the nature of wounds change. While swords and pikes remained staple weapons throughout the period, the injuries inflicted on soldiers by musket balls and artillery rounds were horrific in comparison to blade strikes. Complex fractures were occasioned through bullets, artillery shells and hand-grenades,<sup>71</sup> and often the rudimentary medical profession rendered them untreatable (see below).<sup>72</sup> Historians seeking detailed descriptions of injuries sustained need look no further than Henry Hexham's account of Maastricht in 1632:

Captaine Edmund Manly...received a shott throw his left arme by his shoulder, which brake his bone, and another throw the same arme a litle above his Elbow, which likewise broke his bone asunder, & another shott through his right thygh among his synowes, whereof...he died...Lieutenant Colonel Holles was also hurt with a granado on his foote: Captaine Cave shott throw his right-hand, the bones all to peeces, and Captaine Peyton throw his left-hand. Capt. Dudley at push of pike with the Ennemy was runne into his brest, and his Lieutenant Reade shot through one of his hands the bones all to shatters. Captaine Sandall received a cruel shott, whereof...he died. Capt. Sydenham hurt also with a granado, and diverse Gentlemen and Souldiers of my Lord Vere his two Companies slayne and hurt.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Henry Hexham, *A True and Briefe Relation of the Famous Siege of Breda* (Delft, 1637), pp. 33; 41.

<sup>70</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), p.779.

<sup>71</sup> Lithgow described hand-grenades thus: 'Hand-garnads, Bullets of three pounds weight, and being empty within, they are filled with Powder, Pitch, and Sulphur...', William Lithgow, *A True and Experimental Discourse upon the beginning, proceeding and Victorious event of this last siege Of Breda* (London, 1637), p.28. The early modern hand-grenade was 'a powder-filled sphere of cast-iron, bronze, thick glass (especially fashionable among the Spaniards), pottery or even wood'; Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, p.98.

<sup>72</sup> In 1589 they were still considered a novel development in England. Following the Portugal expedition, Captain Anthony Wingfield wrote: 'For our English surgeons (for the most part) be unexperienced in hurts that come by shot because England hath not known wars but of late...'; 'Anthony Wingfield's Discourse', reproduced in R.B. Wernham, ed., *The Expedition of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake to Spain and Portugal, 1589* (London: Navy Records Society, 1988), p.255. They would have had to learn quickly as gunshot wounds fast became the most common of battle wounds; Geoffrey L. Hudson, 'Ex-serviceman's Own Stories in Early Modern England', in Roberta Bivins and John V. Pickstone, eds., *Medicine, Madness and Social History: Essays in Honour of Roy Porter* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p.112.

<sup>73</sup> Henry Hexham, *A Journall of the Taking in of Venlo* (Delft, 1633), p.31.

Earlier, at the siege of Ostend, Hexham had described the death of one Master Tedcastle, gentleman of Sir Francis Vere's horse, 'slain...with two musket-bullets chained together'.<sup>74</sup> Such was siege warfare. Storming the breach against spirited resistance would produce many casualties. An assault on a well-defended position during the siege of Ostend was repulsed 'with the effusion of much blood', with the final tally for the attempt being over two thousand Spanish attackers lost for the price of 'on our side ...slain between thirty or forty souldiers, and about an hundred hurt'.<sup>75</sup> At Stralsund, Monro's unit paid a high price: 'our Regiment did lose neare five hundred men, and of the remnant escaped, both of Officers and Souldiers, I do not thinke one hundred were free of wounds'.<sup>76</sup>

Monro drew attention to the role of the sniper in early-modern warfare. He discovered this to his cost at Nurenberg: '...the enemy commanded out a single man, with a long peece, who from a tree aiming at me, shot me right above the Hanch-bone...'.<sup>77</sup> Sometimes, however, attempting to scale the walls could still be an experience to which a medieval soldier would have been able to relate, as Sydenham Poyntz reports of his time attacking Nördlingen as he mounted a siege ladder:

So soone as hee came to the Top of the Walles, his head was no sooner peeped above the Walles, but it seemes one thrust at hym with a Halberd and thrust of his Bever, his Bever was no sooner of but with a sword one strucke of his head [which] fell to the ground. The head being of, the body falls upon mee and there it lyes very heavy upon mee and blooded mee wonderfully that I was almost smothered with blood. I not knowing what was the cause cryed what the Devil ayld you that you doe not mount higher, but what with the weight and with the blood I could hold no longer and downe wee fell together and what with my fall upon the stones and hee in his armour upon mee that I knew not whether I was alive or dead.<sup>78</sup>

Likewise, during the siege of Ostend, the eye-witness Henry Hexham tells of an incident where the Anglo-Dutch defenders had run out of ammunition, but continued to hold their line, as the Spanish and Italian attackers

could no sooner come up to the top of the breach to enter it, or peep up between

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<sup>74</sup> Henry Hexham's account of the siege of Ostend in Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.177.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p.176.

<sup>76</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, I, p.80.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p.149.

<sup>78</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.115. I have amended punctuation to aid comprehension. Note this incident may not have been at Nördlingen; see p.116, n1.

Sandhil and Schottenburch, but they were either knocked on the head with the stocks of our muskets, our Hercules-clubs, or run through with our pikes and swords. Twice or thrice when they strived to enter, they were beaten off, and could get no advantage upon us.<sup>79</sup>

Equally at Breda nearly forty years later, he was to witness 'the Ennemy defending the topp of the breach with clubbs, flailles, stones'.<sup>80</sup>

Sir Francis Vere, who served for over twenty years mainly in the Netherlands, was wounded many times during his career. Sometimes they were blade wounds, as at Rheinberg:

Where at the first encounter my horse being slain under me with the blow of a pike, and falling on me, so as I could not suddenly rise, I lay betwixt both troops, till our men had made the enemy give back, receiving a hurt in my leg, and divers thrusts with pikes through my garments.

At the battle of Nieuwpoort: 'At my first coming I got one shot through my leg, and a quarter of an hour after another through the same thigh, which I neither complained nor bragged of, nor so much as thought of any Chirurgeon...' During the battle he was suffering from an illness as well as coping with his wounds, so afterwards he reports: '[I] began to care and provide for my self, who all this while having been undressed, the bloud leaking from me at four holes, together with a dangerous disease that had long held me, had made me extream weak and faint'. Vere had to be evacuated out of Ostend, the defence of which he commanded during the early stages of the siege, due to a serious wound to the head occasioned by a cannonball, and during his last action, at Grave, he was shot in the face, just below the right eye, and was in a critical condition for several weeks.<sup>81</sup> Vere, 'covered with honourable wounds and prematurely aged by exposure and hardships of all kinds,' must indeed have looked every inch the veteran, having experienced the complete spectrum of physical misfortune that the early modern soldier faced: disease and wounds from blades, cannonballs and musket bullets. He was only in his forties when he retired, but 'his health was failing, he was covered with wounds, riddled with bullets, and they had left their effects on his powers of endurance and of application. Exposure, incessant toil, attacks of ague, and mental strain had done their

<sup>79</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.173.

<sup>80</sup> Hexham, *Siege of Breda*, p.34.

<sup>81</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, pp.7; 102; 104; 132.

work'.<sup>82</sup> He died at the age of 48. Looking at it from another perspective, he was lucky to have survived for so long. Many young men lost their lives in the European conflicts,<sup>83</sup> and yet some old soldiers lived through decades of combat. Remarkably Captain Henry Hexham served for over forty years without ever being wounded.<sup>84</sup>

Several of the military authors show that the effect of massed artillery could be emphatic, and that the development of lighter field pieces capable of tactical manoeuvre on the battlefield was in their view a significant addition to the traditional large, slow-moving siege artillery.<sup>85</sup> The random impact of artillery, from a distance of over a thousand yards, could increase fear as well as cause significant casualties,<sup>86</sup> and if ammunition was in short supply for the guns, anything would suffice as a projectile: in Antwerp in 1566, there were '24 great pieces...rammed full of stones and chaines...'<sup>87</sup> Monro, in a holding position by Ingolstadt, reported that 'at one shot I lost twelve men...being all taken alike with the Cannon,' adding 'who would sweare he was not affrighted for a shot, I would not trust him againe'.<sup>88</sup> Hexham while a defender at Ostend reported that 'the enemy had shot upon and into the town, above an hundred sixty three thousand two hundred Canon-shot,' with the result that little was left standing. He continues:

...that day till evening he shot upon Sand-hil, and the curtain of the old town above two and twenty hundred Canon-shot; insomuch that it might rather have been called Yron-hil than Sand-hil; for it stuck so full of bullets, that many of them tumbled down into the False-bray, and others, striking on their own bullets, breaking in pieces flew up into the aire as high as a steeple.<sup>89</sup>

The Walloon soldier Christophle De Bonours, on the outside with the Spanish Army of Flanders looking in, reported that Ostend was so densely populated during the siege that the Spanish artillery had a hit with every shot.<sup>90</sup> Because of this, Vere moved part of the

<sup>82</sup> C.R. Markham, *Fighting Veres*, pp.338; 339; 345; 352.

<sup>83</sup> An estimated six hundred thousand died during the Thirty Years' War; Geoffrey Parker, 'The Soldier', in Rosario Villari, ed., *Baroque Personae* (Chicago University Press, 1995), p.48.

<sup>84</sup> '[God] hath preserved mee the space of two and fourtie yeares through many dangers: and though I have bin present in many hott services in this Land: yet he has not given the Ennemy so much power, as to draw one drop of bloode from mee'. Henry Hexham, *An Appendix Of the Lawes, Articles, & Ordinances, established for Marshall Discipline, in the service of the Lords the States General of the united Provinces, under the Commaund of his Highnesse the Prince of Orange* (Delft, 1643), Dedication.

<sup>85</sup> Kroener, 'Soldiers Are Very Poor', p.286.

<sup>86</sup> Simon Pepper, 'Aspects of operational art: communications, cannon, and small war', in Frank Tallett and D.J.B Trim, eds., *European Warfare, 1350-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.192.

<sup>87</sup> Thomas Churchyard, *True Discourse*, p.8.

<sup>88</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.120.

<sup>89</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, pp.165; 167.

<sup>90</sup> Christophle de , *Le Mémorable Siège d'Ostende* (Brussels: Jean de Meerbeek, 1628), p.138.

population outside the ramparts. Significantly such overwhelming destruction did not bring about the surrender of the town. Far from it, as the resolve of the defenders hardened and they held out for a further two and a half years. Contrarily, Prince Frederick-Henry fired over 23,000 canon balls into Breda over a seven week period, after which it surrendered.<sup>91</sup>

Monro also gives us an account of the effects of artillery on buildings:

...stone houses are vaine defences against cannon: where the once pierc't, those within are in worse case then if they stood on plaine fields. Therefore at such times, it is better to adventure forth unto the fields out of reach, then to be smothered within the walles, as were many within this house both of horse and foote.<sup>92</sup>

Artillery barrages were becoming commonplace by the time Sydenham Poyntz became involved in the Thirty Years' War, and not just in siege situations. Poyntz says of Breitenfeld: 'The Duke of Saxony...began with his canon to play upon Tilly, and the like they did to us, which did last two or three howers wherein was many slayne'. Again, at Rain, shortly before the death of Tilly: 'Tilly lying along the Waterside with Skonse upon Skonse, there playing with their Canons one upon another, doing great hurt in both Armyes'.<sup>93</sup> Hexham, fighting along the River Maas, describes another artillery action:

The Enemye played cruellie upon the Frenches from their Batteryes, which flankered that place, and their Cannon bullets raked through the French Companies, slew many of them, and shott of the Armes and leggs of divers of them, & some of them were shott with Muskett bullets, from over the River.<sup>94</sup>

The published writings can also help to document the perceived secondary risk from artillery fire. This was described by Monro, also in action against Tilly: '...many were made to lie dead by our cannon, for those that were not hurt by the Bullets, they were lamed by branches and trees, cut by the cannon, being they stood in a thicke wood...'<sup>95</sup> Horace Vere was injured at Ostend in such a manner, 'hurt in the leg, with a splinter that

<sup>91</sup> Hexham, *Siege of Breda*, Articles of Composition, p.16.

<sup>92</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.115.

<sup>93</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, pp. 58; 64. According to Monro, also at Breitenfeld, 'Our losses...did not exceed three thousand men, which for the most part were killed by the enemies Cannon'; Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.67. Breitenfeld was the first major Protestant victory of the war: 'Seven thousand six hundred Imperialists lay dead on the field, most of them killed by Swedish gunfire,' thus the cold facts corroborate the soldier's account; Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, p.113.

<sup>94</sup> Hexham, *Venlo*, p.12.

<sup>95</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.117.

flew from a Palizado'.<sup>96</sup> Soldiers still ran the risk of close-quarter blade injuries, such as those received by Poyntz's colleague on the wall at Nördlingen (Poyntz himself was wounded at Gertruydenberg 'on the right side by a pike'<sup>97</sup>), and Vere on the beach at Nieuwpoort. Clearly there was now the additional major risk of missiles exploding, indiscriminately, within a company's lines, in battle as well as during sieges. Shots fired from muskets from across rivers may have been acts of random opportunism on the operators behalf, such was the inaccuracy of the weapons, but to be on the receiving end of a bullet could be incapacitating, if not lethal, whether it was intentionally directed or not.<sup>98</sup> The psychological ('shell-shock') effect of noisy and effective artillery fire discharged from distance can only be guessed at (although one veteran refers to the 'terrou, fury, and execution' of the musket<sup>99</sup>), adding to, rather than replacing, the frightening prospect of meeting the enemy face to face.

### Medical care and welfare support

The sources are extraordinarily rich in descriptions of the wounds inflicted upon soldiers but are far less so in describing the care they received. Historians' views of the subject have been formed largely on the basis of medical texts. Given the very high rates of wounding, injury and sickness, whatever medical support was in attendance would presumably have been in great demand. Elizabeth's armies were for most of the reign authorised one surgeon for every one hundred soldiers. The government acknowledged the need for reform, and an increase in pay from the Privy Council to correspondingly increase the quality of individuals, and a restructuring of the manpower, led to improvements.

Those individuals who made up the medical contingent may have considered themselves a profession but there was little science involved. Many surgeons created their own ointments. The treatments used may have hastened a patient's death, such as the common practice of cauterising gunshot wounds with boiling oil. A main complaint of soldiers was that their injured comrades died all too frequently from only minor wounds.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.177.

<sup>97</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.46.

<sup>98</sup> Some weapons were far more accurate than a soldier's musket. In Germany the peasants defended themselves from plunder with their 'fowling-pieces,' and marksmen in England used similar 'birding-pieces' during the civil wars. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, pp. 88; 91.

<sup>99</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, p.2.

<sup>100</sup> According to Margaret Pelling, medical practitioners of this period were 'entirely at odds' with the 'characteristics of the professional as usually defined'; 'Medicine: trade or profession?' in Peter Elmer and

The French sixteenth-century surgeon Ambroise Paré through an unintentional trial of comparable treatments, one cauterising the wound using the accepted method and the other utilising dressings made with 'the yolke of an egg, oyle of Roses, and Turpentine', noticed that the traditional method not only failed to work but increased suffering while the other was more effective and reduced pain. These empirical observations were made in 1536 but were not published in England until significantly later.<sup>101</sup> A frightening alternative was to treat gunshot wounds with 'arsenik and rusty Bacon'.<sup>102</sup> The 'science' such as it existed was a combination of the ancient Galenic belief in a balance of the body humours and fluids, with the ideas of sixteenth-century Paracelsus who advocated the targeting of specific diseases with chemicals and drugs.<sup>103</sup> It was generally believed that the four humours of blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile should be kept in balance, and exposure to inclement weather or climates, unusual or poor diets and excessive exercise could produce permanent damage to the body. Soldiers were consistently exposed to all these extremes.<sup>104</sup> Some surgeons took their responsibilities seriously. William Clowes was an enlightened individual who accepted that more men were probably lost through incompetent medical practitioners than direct enemy action.<sup>105</sup> John Woodall found everlasting fame by being the first man to recommend citrus juice as a treatment for scurvy.<sup>106</sup> Although Clowes and Woodall published their findings, the medical literature in English for the period is very limited. It must be assumed that those involved as practitioners combined word-of-mouth training with old wives tales that resulted in high-risk treatment, which any wounded soldier would have been fortunate to survive.

If the English medical world was slow to develop, a variety of sources reveal that government at least recognised its responsibility to the wounded. The period witnessed government initiatives to provide for men who had served and were wounded and could

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Ole Peter Grell, eds., *Health, disease and society in Europe 1500-1800* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), p.34.

<sup>101</sup> Ambroise Paré, *The Method of Curing Wounds made by Gun-shots*, trans. Walter Hammond (London, 1617), p.5. See also 'War and medicine in early modern Europe', in Elmer and Grell, *Health, disease and society in Europe*, p.257, and Cunningham and Grell, *Four Horsemen*, pp.126-134.

<sup>102</sup> Franciscus Arceus, *Most excellent and compendious method of curing woundes in the head, and in other partes of the body*, trans. John Read (London, 1588); Evans, *Works*, p.cxxxvi.

<sup>103</sup> Eric Gruber von Arni, *Justice to the Maimed Soldier: Nursing, Medical Care and Welfare for the Sick and Wounded Soldiers and their Families during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum, 1642-1660* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p.3.

<sup>104</sup> Hudson, 'Ex-servicemen's Own Stories', p.109.

<sup>105</sup> C.G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), p.121. Clowes also used rose oil to treat gunshot wounds and published 26 years prior to Hammond's translation of Paré; William Clowes, *A Proved Practice for All Young Chirurgicalians* (London, 1591), p.5.

<sup>106</sup> John Woodall, *The Surgions Mate* (London, 1617); J.D. Alsop, 'Warfare and the Creation of British Imperial Medicine, 1600-1800', in Geoffrey L. Hudson, ed., *British Military and Naval Medicine, 1600-1830* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007), p.25.



therefore no longer serve or work. Pensions were paid to wounded soldiers, and on occasion the widows of men who had died overseas, for the first time in Europe following an act of Parliament in 1593 (and amended in 1598 and 1601 to include rate increases), prior to which such disabled veterans had to rely on charitable donations in the same category as the 'impotent poor'. Since 1586 the soldiers who deployed to the Netherlands were in the service of the state, which was morally obliged to assist them. More importantly, 'England's soldiers needed to be treated decently so that others would be willing to serve'.<sup>107</sup> Other changes to assist in the medical recovery and welfare of soldiers were introduced: those soldiers who needed to return to England to convalesce were permitted sick leave without loss of pay. It also became possible in the 1590s for a wounded man to return to England for treatment, on full pay.<sup>108</sup> Hospitals developed out of 'guest houses' in the Netherlands, private dwellings where injured or sick soldiers were cared for by the owners. The lead for the expansion of this system was taken by the Spanish with the establishment in 1585 of a permanent hospital at Mechelen with 330 beds, although English military hospitals did not materialise until well after the period under study.<sup>109</sup> Field hospitals, that moved with the troops as the war ebbed and flowed, were the initiative of Gustavus Adolphus.<sup>110</sup>

There were many medical conditions the soldier was subject to well before he encountered the enemy. Seasickness followed by bad food, constant marching and cold, wet living conditions exacerbated the reaction to a change of climate and saw many fall ill.<sup>111</sup> Disease, such as typhus, remained the most deadly threat to soldiers until it was succeeded by enemy action in the twentieth century.<sup>112</sup> Men were evacuated *en masse* when disease became epidemic within the camp, such as out of the Low Countries during

<sup>107</sup> Geoffrey L. Hudson, 'Disabled Veterans and the State in Early Modern England', in David A. Gerber, ed., *Disabled Veterans in History* (University of Michigan, 2000), pp.119-120. Hudson argues that the moral obligation was in the form of an acknowledgment that there was a social responsibility to protect those from the lower orders. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army*, p.128.

<sup>108</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.cxxxv. Von Arni states (p.5) that this was not decreed until 1654, and quotes Cruickshank. Cruickshank however states that paid sick leave was authorised in 1594; p.123. Whereas von Arni stresses the negative, reflecting 'a view that soldiers were cannon fodder and casualties disposable assets of the state', Cruickshank states 'there was a marked improvement in the treatment of sick and wounded men during [Elizabeth's] reign'.

<sup>109</sup> A hospital was founded in Buckingham for 36 'maimed, unmarried soldiers' in 1599 but this was a home for the disabled rather than a location to treat the wounded; Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army*, p.126. The English Civil War saw the creation of the first hospitals at the Savoy and Ely House; Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p.262.

<sup>110</sup> Von Arni, *Justice to the Maimed Soldier*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>111</sup> Much was made of a change of climate, particularly to hot areas such as Spain and Portugal. George Wateson, *The Cures Of the Diseased in remote Regions. Preventing Mortalitie, incident in Forrein Attempts, of the English Nation* (London, 1598); Alsop, 'Warfare and the Creation of British Imperial Medicine', p.24.

<sup>112</sup> Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army*, pp.118-130; Frederick F. Cartwright and Michael Biddiss, *Disease and History*, Second Edition (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 2004), p.95.

Leicester's deployment or out of France during Willoughby's support to Henri IV, but once back in England the men and their carers died in large numbers.<sup>113</sup>

The printed sources analysed for this thesis disappointingly make very little comment on medical services. Barret advises that the Sergeant Major should ensure that sick and wounded '...may be caried with all care, unto the hospitals or such places deputed for the same',<sup>114</sup> while Monro when taken ill with 'the infection' in Brandenburg 'banished death by imagination'.<sup>115</sup> Presumably the less said the better.

### **Mobility: geography, topography, meteorology and logistics**

The mobility of an army, regardless of the strength of the cavalry, was dictated by the speed an infantryman could walk and the distance he could cover. Given the weight of his equipment and that much of it, particularly his footwear, could be in poor condition, that he was very often hungry and thirsty, and that he was frequently in ill-health, some of the speeds achieved and distances covered over difficult terrain were quite remarkable.<sup>116</sup> Geoffrey Parker has calculated that units moving to join the Spanish Army of Flanders crossed the Alps, made their way along the Spanish Road at an average of twelve miles per day.<sup>117</sup> Hot weather was deemed to be equally dangerous as cold, thus some Spanish veterans in May increased their speed to fifteen miles per day in order to avoid the impending summer. Some units even travelled in the middle of winter, marching at an average rate of twenty miles per day.<sup>118</sup> Wallenstein also drove his armies hard; in the march from Zerbst to Olmütz he deployed his entire army, soldiers and baggage train, a distance of over 370 miles in only twenty two days, a rate of more than eighteen miles

<sup>113</sup> Smythe, *Proëme Dedicatorie*; Evans, *Works*, p.xciii; von Arni, *Justice to the Maimed Soldier*, p.5.

<sup>114</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, p.110. After Breitenfeld Monro reports that 'the wounded were convoyed unto Dorpes, where Chirugians were appointed to attend their cure', Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.71.

<sup>115</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.48.

<sup>116</sup> 'The foot soldier of the seventeenth century probably carried a heavier weight than [sixty pounds]. For both the pike and the matchlock were cumbrous and weighty weapons. The ammunition of the musketeer, taking into account flask, match, bandoliers, and the pouch with its heavy bullets, must also have been proportionately heavy. The helmet and the corslet of the pikeman must have been an intolerable burden on a long march, and the abandonment of the pikeman's defensive armour was due to this fact. Finally, both pikemen and musketeers had their knapsacks in which they frequently carried as much as seven days' provision, and during their campaigns in Ireland and Scotland they sometimes carried in addition a portion of a tent'. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p.107.

<sup>117</sup> In order for the King of Spain to defend his territory in the Low Countries, he had to dispatch Spanish and Italian troops who would march from Milan to Namur, a distance of some 700 miles, which included traversing the Alps. Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567-1659*, Second Edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>118</sup> Parker, *Spanish Road*, p.87 and Annex D.

every twenty-four hours, which seems to have been matched by the Swedes.<sup>119</sup> The Imperial general Tilly was equally hard-pressed, on one occasion covering two hundred miles in ten days with a cavalry regiment and three infantry regiments; a considerable achievement in winter.<sup>120</sup> The record for endurance seems to be held by the hardy Scottish Highlanders, who were apparently capable of marching sixty miles in one day, although they would have been lightly armed independent detachments without the burden of an artillery train or modern equipment, moving in loose formation.<sup>121</sup>

The soldiers confirmed through their writings that life in an early modern army was nothing if not mobile. Robert Monro calculated that he had travelled some 770 miles on water and 140 miles on land during three years with Christian of Denmark,<sup>122</sup> and 180 miles on water and 623 miles on land in four years with the Swedish army.<sup>123</sup> One recent study concluded that the mobility of such armies was greatly assisted by the use of maps, 'for positional tactics – whether siege based, or turning on the movement and manoeuvre of field armies – depended heavily upon military geography and its chief instrument, the accurate map'.<sup>124</sup> But this article identifies senior command as utilizing maps; there is no clear evidence that officers on the ground had them.<sup>125</sup> Few soldiers in this study refer to the use of maps.<sup>126</sup> Goodrick concludes of Poyntz: 'It is plain that he never consulted a map',<sup>127</sup> and nearly two hundred years later the army of Napoleon that approached Waterloo did so without the assistance of maps.<sup>128</sup> Given the information available in the works of these soldiers, I would conclude that local knowledge, borrowed, bought or coerced, was as much responsible for the tactical direction of an army as the commander's map.

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<sup>119</sup> Golo Mann, *Wallenstein: His Life Narrated*, trans. Charles Kessler (London: Andre Deutsch, 1976), p.290. James Grant, *Memoirs And Adventures Of Sir John Hepburn: Knight, Governor Of Munich, Marshall Of France Under Louis XIII, And Commander Of The Scots Brigade Under Gustavus Adolphus, Etc* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1851), p.26.

<sup>120</sup> Mann, *Wallenstein*, p.544.

<sup>121</sup> Manning, *Apprenticeship*, p.376.

<sup>122</sup> Monro calls them German miles. John Mackay calculates 20 German miles equate to 70 English; John Mackay, *An Old Scots Brigade being the history of Mackay's Regiment 1626-1634* (Pallas Armata: 1991), p.9.

<sup>123</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, un-paginated pages prior to Part II. Monro's figures for water and land movement do not add up, the Danish totals being out by 12, the Swedish by 24.

<sup>124</sup> Pepper, 'Aspects of operational art', p.188.

<sup>125</sup> In the seventeenth century, maps 'were concentrated in the hands of the commanders and members of the higher staff'. Björn Gåfvert, 'Maps and war: the Swedish experience during the Thirty Years' War', Bussmann & Schilling, *1648*, I, p.309.

<sup>126</sup> Barret states that '...it importeth much to have drawne plats, mappes, and models...' showing topographical features and details of military interest; Barret, *Theorike*, p.173.

<sup>127</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.42.

<sup>128</sup> I owe this point through conversation with Professor Etienne Rooms of the Royal Military Academy, Brussels.

An apparent characteristic of the 'military revolution' was the increase in the size of armies, although there were many regional variations and it was not always the case depending which conflicts are compared. The publications by military men showed keen awareness of both increase in size and variation. Barwick, in 1592, commented of the 1550s: '...in which time there were greater armies, greater matters accomplished than these broiles betwixt Subjects and Subjects'.<sup>129</sup> Sometimes they were precise in description and sometimes vague. Some of the more detailed descriptions were given of the Thirty Years' War: in that conflict armies grew considerably, although the numbers engaged in battle at any one time were substantially smaller than the total strength required to garrison towns and hold areas of land. Given that additional assorted civilians could make an army 'anywhere between fifty and a hundred and fifty percent of its own size,'<sup>130</sup> the 100,000 soldiers of Wallenstein's army would have swollen to something in the region of a quarter of a million 'mouths'.<sup>131</sup> This would make it larger than the largest city but in motion,<sup>132</sup> and consuming water, food and fodder while it moved. Henry Hexham gives us an idea of the logistic 'train' that could develop on a deploying army:

We had with us 83 peeces of ordnance great and small, 14 or 15 hundred wagons, whereof one hundred of them was laden with chests full of Bisket, each chest in in [sic] it 1000 pound, which made all a hundred thousand pounds of Bisket...Twelve Boats for to make a Bridge, layd upon carriages, and drawne with some 20 horses, and had many waggons laden with great store of ammunition, and divers materials of warr.<sup>133</sup>

Officers would be allocated a number of carts for their possessions: at Breda there were 'two captains to a Waggon'.<sup>134</sup> Artillery, described above, was a developing element within early modern armies, as more and more guns were considered necessary to produce a desired increase in firepower, and therefore represented a growing logistical burden. Some of the very best descriptions of logistical problems are to be found in these accounts. Pulling a gun was no mean feat:

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<sup>129</sup> Barwick, *Breefe Discourse*, p.29, although he had not been involved in the 'broiles' of the Eighty Years' War and seems a little scathing of them.

<sup>130</sup> Martin van Creveld, *Supplying War: Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton* (Cambridge University Press, 1977), p.6.

<sup>131</sup> Graham Darby, *The Thirty Years' War* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2001), p.49. Parker, *Spanish Road*, p.79.

<sup>132</sup> '...the whole Campe may be like an uniforme and handsome built Cittie...' Francis Markham, *Epistles*, p.127.

<sup>133</sup> Hexham, *Venlo*, p.3.

<sup>134</sup> Hexham, *Siege of Breda*, p.4.

To draw a Cannon of the greatest size, they used to put 24 horses or oxen in faire weather, and in foule 30. And for a demy Cannon 18 or 20. And to draw a Culverine in faire weather, 24, and in foule weather accordingly. To draw a Saker 12 or 14 beasts; and for a Falcon 8 beasts, &c. A good cart, waine, or wagon, will carry 60 Cannon shot...and are drawne with 6, or 8 horses: and after the same order and waight, go the other carts and carriages with powder, leade, match, iron, iron-tooles, armour, and all other munition.<sup>135</sup>

There was a considerable list of additional equipment, the 'other munition,' and as there was no separation of artillery stores from infantry and horse as it was all considered 'ordnance', it all fell to the charge of the officer of artillery to manage and move:

...Cannons for Batterie, from the least to the greatest size; as from sixe to tenne inches in board or height, and carrying bullet from forty foure to seaventy pound weight; demie-Cannons which carry bullet from twenty four to thirtie pound weight; Cullverins from sixteene to twenty pound, Demie-Culverines, Faulcons, Faulconers and Sakers; Quintalls of Cannon-powder and other powder, and Oxe hides to cover and defend the same, Shot of Iron, Leade, and stone in great quantitie and for al manner of Peeeces, Match in great abundance, Iron shovells, Mattocks, Pickaxes, Axes, Hatchets, Hookes, Planks, Boards, Maunds, Baskets, Nails for Tyres, and all other purposes, Sawes, Sledges, Iron barres, Crowes, Augers, Engines for all purposes; Chargers, Ladles, Rammers, Spunges, Chaines, Cart-clouts, Weights, all sorts of Smiths tooles; Horse-shoos and Nails, Cordage, Coffers, Candles, Lanthorns, Ceare-cloathes, Soape, Tarre, soft Grease, Scalling-ladders...small shot as Musquets, Dragoones, Pistolls and the like; with all manner of implements belonging unto them either for Horse or Foote; also all sorts of Launces, Pikes, Murrions, Corslets, Swords, Daggers, Girdles, Hangers, Bandeleers, Bullet-bagges, Flaskes and Touch-boxes for Horsemen, Carbines or Petronells...

In order to keep and maintain all this diverse equipment, the officer had several tradesmen under his command, including 'Mine-masters, Smiths, Founders, Coopers, Carpenters, Wheele-wrights and the like'.<sup>136</sup>

These publications can also provide valuable information concerning the precise climatic conditions in which particular early modern armies operated. The climate is believed to have been generally colder during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

<sup>135</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, p.136, although managing the teams was more complex than just the providing of the correct quantity: 'I do not mean to say that twenty-four horses were required to pull each canon; rather, twenty-four horses were allotted to one canon to permit change of teams during the march, replacement of disabled horses, and, in emergencies, the transfer of horses to another piece', quoted in Evans, *Works*, p.cxxxiii, n2. When possible equipment would move along inland waterways, see for example:, Anthonis Duyck, *Journaal van Anthonis Duyck*, ed. by L. Mulder (s'Gravenhage: 1862-5), p.xxlv; Scannell, 'Water in Warfare', pp.62-67.

<sup>136</sup> Francis Markham, *Epistles*, p.119.

century than it is now, a period referred to as the 'Little Ice Age.'<sup>137</sup> Certainly early modern winters saw widespread frosts, and skaters were used as messengers along the frozen inland waterways.<sup>138</sup> There are several references in the primary sources to bad weather and the effects this had on soldiers. Monro writes that during '...tempestuous cold weather, with hard frosts and snow, we lay downe on the fields, having no shelter, but some bushes by the side of the Rhine'.<sup>139</sup> There are further references to '...cruel tempestuous weather for frost and snow...',<sup>140</sup> '...extreme cold...',<sup>141</sup> and also '...rainie weather, which spoyled both our Armes and Cloaths for a whole fortnight together...'.<sup>142</sup> The Dutch estuaries froze in the 'unusually cold' winter of 1624/5,<sup>143</sup> ships froze at anchor in the Amsterdam winter of 1626/7,<sup>144</sup> although this emphasis on isolated cold snaps would of course indicate that in general winters were normally less severe. Whereas freezing weather could make waterways temporary roads, more commonly wet weather would make roads impassable. The weather could have a direct effect on military operations, for instance the rain and ice contributed to the raising of the siege of Steenwick,<sup>145</sup> and Williams tells us that at the siege of Alkmar: '...the raine fell in great abundance in such sort, that they raised their siege in few daies; and lost divers peeces of battry which they could not hale out of the marish'.<sup>146</sup> Such conditions had the additional effect of ruining crops, as during the Thirty Years' War: 'A cold spring had deepened into a bitter summer; snow fell in June and the drenched crops rotted in the ground'.<sup>147</sup> Thus the weather conditions contributed to the famine and disease cycle in the affected area that made life unpredictable for soldiers and civilians alike.

## Intelligence

What do the soldiers' writings tell us about military intelligence? That they thought it crucial to military success is clear. 'The farther our wings are spred without us,' said Robert Monro, 'our Body is the better guarded by good intelligence,' and Sir Roger Williams commented: 'true intelligence is the best part of an enterprise, and worth alwaies

<sup>137</sup> Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis 1598-1648* (London: Fontana, 1979), pp. 21-23.

<sup>138</sup> Wedgwood, *William the Silent*, p.133.

<sup>139</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.91.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid*, II, p.94.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid*, II, p.175/6.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*, II, p.131.

<sup>143</sup> Manning, *Apprenticeship*, p.106.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*, p.58.

<sup>145</sup> Nolan, *Sir John Norreys*, p.45.

<sup>146</sup> Williams, *Actions*, p.106.

<sup>147</sup> C.V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years' War* (London: Pimlico, 1938), p.206.

halfe an army'.<sup>148</sup> Armies throughout the ages have endeavoured to find out information about their enemy in order to out-manoeuvre him and keep one step ahead. Those that have managed to do so have frequently gained the upper hand, but often information was woefully inaccurate or hard to come by, certainly by fair means of observation and assessment. There are several examples of failures in military intelligence, for example the Spanish having no idea of the whereabouts of Prince Maurice on his chaotic march through Flanders prior to the battle of Nieuwpoort (and vice versa). It was easier (for the general who gave the order, if not the individual who risked his life) to infiltrate the enemy's ranks than to try to guess his next move, and in a world of international armies (on Continental Europe, all of them), churches (the Roman Catholic) and religious movements (Protestantism), where men from the same nation fought on both sides, it was far easier to do than in modern times where wars have been fought between nation states. Spies, of course, were employed in the twentieth century, but it was feasible for, say, an overt Scotsman in the army of the United Provinces to feed information to the Spanish Army of Flanders whereas an overt German acting as a spy in the British Army during the Second World War would have been impossible.<sup>149</sup>

Their accounts provide considerable detail, perhaps because this subject was as popular with early modern readers as it is with twenty-first century but also because the authors considered it important. Spies in the early modern period were certainly plying their trade. The term 'scout' seems to have been synonymous with spy: Churchyard refers to 'scoutes or espials'.<sup>150</sup> Even before the English government became actively involved in the Low Countries war, an Englishman was caught spying on the Spanish Army of Flanders in Antwerp.<sup>151</sup> Sir Roger Williams described 'espy-alls' used by Mansfeld in the Duke of Alva's camp,<sup>152</sup> and Vere reported an 'espiall' at Turnhout informed him that the enemy had neither entrenched his position nor had any intelligence on the whereabouts of the Anglo-Dutch force, information that led to Vere's attack and subsequent victory.<sup>153</sup> To

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<sup>148</sup> Monroe, *Expedition*, II, p.10. Williams, *Actions*, p.120.

<sup>149</sup> During the siege of Ostend Archduke Albert was handed 'a map, that a Scottish captain had brought from Holland a couple of days earlier, and it contained some enemy fortifications...' De Bonours, *Ostend*, p.96. In another incident, De Bonours reports that three Scottish turncoats were kept by the Spanish as guides, and that they wished to attack a certain weak spot in the cities defences. However a spy warned Vere, who consequently took evasive action; De Bonours, *Ostend*, p.172.

<sup>150</sup> Churchyard, *True Discourse*, p.30.

<sup>151</sup> John Lee, an agent of Burghley, was caught in November 1572. Robert Hutchinson, *Elizabeth's Spy Master: Francis Walsingham and the Secret War that Saved England* (London: Wiedenfeld & Nicolson, 2006), p.83.

<sup>152</sup> Williams, *Actions*, p.13.

<sup>153</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.72.

gain vital knowledge, Robert Monro recommended a commander 'must have some secret friend with the enemy, for giving him secret intelligence'.<sup>154</sup> Sometimes such an individual may have been unaware of his role: the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom was raised when an English deserter in the pay of the traitor Sir William Stanley, disguised as an Italian and going by the name of Swegoe, was unwittingly used to feed false information to the besieging Spaniards, who were consequently drawn into a trap and defeated.<sup>155</sup> A Walloon soldier with the besieging Spanish army at Ostend reported great concern over the actions of spies:

In our camp all possible action was taken to find the spot where enemy spies returned to the city. But nevertheless we were informed that almost every three days somebody delivered new intelligence, giving the Governor details on our defence systems, numbers of troops, number of killed and wounded.<sup>156</sup>

Francis Markham informs us that it was a 'maine' duty of the Provost-Marshal of an army 'to discover the lurking subtilties of treacherous spies,' a reflection on how common they were in early modern forces.<sup>157</sup> The information brought from spies was often specifically military in nature, giving precise figures of the enemy's capability, as the Englishman Henry Hexham tells us of the campaign along the Maas:

Tuesday the 29 [June, 1632]: the Enemy marched from his quarters, in the sight of our Army towards the heath. A spye which marched with them three dayes brought intelligence, that their Army consisted of 178 Companies of foote, 76 troopes of horse: 70 peeces of ordnance great and small, and 900 waggons, and marched in Phalanges and great Battalions, with their Carriages, baggage, and wagons after every Battalion.<sup>158</sup>

Other information could give an insight into the ability of the enemy to last out a siege, which could be profoundly important to a besieging army that may, itself, be experiencing great hardship. Duyck reports that at the siege of Breda a coded letter discovered on the body of an enemy soldier described the dramatic condition of the besieged, being low on food and ammunition,<sup>159</sup> and Hexham tells us that at Maastricht

<sup>154</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.201.

<sup>155</sup> C.R. Markham, *Fighting Veres*, pp. 128-131.

<sup>156</sup> De Bonours, *Ostend*, p.149.

<sup>157</sup> Francis Markham, *Epistles*, p.107.

<sup>158</sup> Hexham, *Venlo*, p.10.

<sup>159</sup> Duyck, *Journal*, I, p.215.



...a Souldiers wife...was now a second time tyme apprehended, and brought to his Excie: but noe letters could be found by her, yet at last being strictly examined, and thretned to be hanged she ingeniouslie confessed, that shee had swallowed two Copper-boxes, with two letters...The States Doctor over night gave her some pills in the which wrought so well with her, that the next morning they were found, washed, opened, and [the] letters found in them: the letters (they say) were to this effect, that unless they were presentlie relieved (wee being so neare to them) it was impossible for them, to hold out the towne any longer.<sup>160</sup>

It was not uncommon for women to be utilized in this manner, nor to risk internal bodily damage through swallowing containers in a way that we would identify with modern day drug traffickers:

A woman was taken coming out of the towne...shee confessed, shee had swallowed downe a bullet, wherein was a letter, which after a purge shee voyed, & the letter was found: the letter being wrapped together in a little hollow bullet, & baked in paste.<sup>161</sup>

Hexham gave several other examples, though the nature of the intelligence gleaned is not divulged: 'This daye five women were taken coming out off the towne whereof one had a packet of letters found about her';<sup>162</sup> 'A woman also was apprehended, and taken goeing with a letters [sic] to the Spanish Army',<sup>163</sup> and, showing that women did not have the monopoly, 'This day two pesants were taken coming out of the towne, whereof one off them had letters found about him'.<sup>164</sup>

Surgeons were generally regarded as non-combatants, and as such potentially had access to both camps. The unscrupulous Colonel Hippley disguised himself as a surgeon to spy on a fortification in Ireland, and the information he obtained resulted in the successful taking of the castle, the storming party of which he led.<sup>165</sup>

Monro had no doubt that the use of friendly locals could influence a battle. On one occasion, a local blacksmith navigated Monro's force through shallow waters thus successfully surprising the enemy:

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<sup>160</sup> Hexham, *Venlo*, p.23.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid, p.22.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, p.15.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, p.16.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, p.18.

<sup>165</sup> Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p.254.

Here also wee see the goodness of intelligence; for had his Majestie not gotten the Black-smith, or some other like unto him, to have been intelligencer and guide to winne through the shallow Trinkets he led us, to the Damme upon the head of their Watch, who were surprized; hardly could we have overcome this Towne, on such a sudden, for without this good of intelligence, which is so necessary, and of so great a moment in warres, nothing, or very little can be effectuated in unknown places. For good intelligencers are so requisite in an Armie; that no meanes ought to be spared on them, providing they be trustie; for one designe or secret of our enemies well knowne, may bring all the rest we desire to a wished end, or at least, preserve us and ours from danger.<sup>166</sup>

Intelligence, by its nature an inexact discipline, had its comic side. At the siege of Breda in 1637 the Chief Engineers of both sides met incognito while attempting to survey the other's line:

The Prince on our side... commanded Monsieur Percevall, the ...chiefe Inginier...to take upon him the habit and quality of a Sarjant, with a halbert in his hand, and to goe out, and entertaining discourse with the Ennemies Officer, which should come out on their side, should cast his eye about him now and then, to discover how the ground lay, and the Ennemies workes, that he might the better know, which way to run his approaches towards them: neither was the Enemy failing herein: for they sent also out of the Towne, their chiefe Inginier, to espye how our line, and Trenches lay. These two chiefe Inginiers meeting together, the Ennemies men to show their curtesy, brought out their Horneworke good Renish wine, and the best Bredaes Beere they could gett, and there they dranke two or three healths, to the Cardinall Infantes, the Prince of Oranges, and at last the Ennemies Inginier enquiring how Monsieur Percevall did, dranck a health unto him, who unknowne unto the Ennemies Inginier, pledged his owne health.<sup>167</sup>

## Pioneers

The soldiers' narratives provide important information about the status of men behind the lines. Mobile armies required a labour force to carry out many vital supporting tasks that fell short of actual combat yet enabled engagement with the enemy, and that manpower pool was often the category termed 'pioneers'. This group is of particular interest as their employment wavers between the task of the soldier and the task of the civilian labourer. Their existence, and the many references to them through the primary sources, shows that men could be recruited for work within an army, be maimed or killed as a consequence of that employment, and yet not be considered soldiers. The Spanish used pioneers attached to their artillery in order to clear roads for the movement of guns,

<sup>166</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, pp.39;41.

<sup>167</sup> Hexham, *Siege of Breda*, p.13.

and the Duke of Alva sent an engineer with three hundred pioneers to work on the passes in the Alps along the Spanish Road.<sup>168</sup> The army of the States General also used them for road clearance:

The Ordinance [i.e. artillery] marches first with all the Carriages, and the Pyonniers are alwaies by them, having noe other waggons mingled amonge them, and so march in their order onely with one waggon before them, laden with spades, showels, Axes, hachets, and biles, and other instruments to make the wayes, and explaine the ground and ditches, after which is drawne an Instrument, which doth make a rut upon the waye, to show which way the Canon is to passe.<sup>169</sup>

Often such troops were required to labour in support of the chief engineer, a captain 'very expert in fortifications...and in all sorts of engines concerning a campe,' being employed in areas such as mining and the construction of defensive positions and bridges. Robert Barret described their tasks in some detail:

...the General of the Artillery hath under his charge, a great number of labourers or Pioners, which...follow an Army, to make trenches, Rampiers, Minings, Countermines, ditches, caves; to make plaine wayes for the army to march; to accommodate the passages for the Artillery to passe; to raise mounts to plant ordinance upon; to place and fill the gabbions; to digge earth for the same; to undermine wals, and townes, and to raze those of any gained places down; to cut bury and cast therein, the garbedge, filthinesse, and offalls of the campe...<sup>170</sup>

The military status of this workforce may have been set apart from the soldiery, as room had to be made, in addition to the soldiers, 'for victuallers, pioners, and others following the campe'.<sup>171</sup> They required a separate armed element to guard them from enemy action as they worked, 'the poore Pioner is in great danger, as often slaine.'<sup>172</sup> Barret explained:

These Pioners do go before the campe with a sufficient band of souldiers for their guard, carrying with them mattockes, spades, shovells, pikaxes, crowes of iron, barrells, baskets, hampiers, and such other tooles; and over every three or foure hundred Pioners a Captaine.<sup>173</sup>

Francis Markham believed pioneers to be 'a rascally, rude, ragged, and uncivill regiment of barbarous and ill-taught people,' and certainly set them aside from the main army,

<sup>168</sup> Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, p.64. Parker, *Spanish Road*, p.71.

<sup>169</sup> Henry Hexham, *The Second Part of the Art Militarie* (London, 1639), p.14.

<sup>170</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, pp. 136/7.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid*, p.154.

<sup>172</sup> Francis Markham, *Epistles*, p.130.

<sup>173</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, p.137.

describing them as 'a confused masse of labouring people, brought up only to digge and delve the earth, without any civill nourture, or indeed decent humanitie, and therefore are not reckoned Souldiers'.<sup>174</sup> Pioneering was not popular work, but despite the early modern snobbery that persisted throughout the period and notwithstanding the comments above, such tasks often fell to the soldiers. In October 1583 the Dutch States General attempted to raise one thousand pioneers, but by February 1584 they had mustered just thirty men, and so ordered vagabonds to be arrested and used in lieu of volunteers.<sup>175</sup> Initially the Dutch believed that the building of siege works was considered humiliating for soldiers, and often civilian builders were hired or farm workers pressed into service as soldiers took a great deal of persuading.<sup>176</sup> Later the Dutch adopted the system of requesting military manpower through the regimental quartermasters, and volunteers were forthcoming because the pay was substantial, on occasion rising to twenty times the normal rate. Pioneering to the Dutch was, therefore, important enough to become an expensive affair.<sup>177</sup>

Low level engineering tasks requiring substantial manpower were a standard for the age as trench warfare was very common in the campaigns of the early modern period:

Duke d'Alva being arrived [near Mons], incamped on the river side betwixt the meadows and the hills, from the wayes towards Valentia downe to the Cloyster. Along this river he made strong trenches, which assured his armie towards the fields; towards the towne he made large deepe trenches, impossible to be entred. This man would commonly assure himself with trenches, although the enemies were lodged three dayes journey from him.<sup>178</sup>

Important though this activity was, soldiers regarded such work as degrading and were often unenthusiastic labourers.<sup>179</sup> William Garrard, in his military treatise, advised that inefficiency should be punished by forcing a miscreant into pioneering:

A Souldier ought ever to retaine and keepe his Armes in safetie and foorthcomming, for hee is more to be detested then a Coward, that will loose or play away any part thereof, or refuse it for his ease, or to avoid paynes: wherefore such a one is to be dismissed with punishment, or made some abject Pyoner.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>174</sup> Francis Markham, *Epistles*, p.129.

<sup>175</sup> Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, p.65.

<sup>176</sup> Duyck, *Journaal*, p.xxiv.

<sup>177</sup> Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, p.81.

<sup>178</sup> Williams, *Actions*, p.42. Churchyard also refers to Alva's entrenchments: '...the Dukes Campe within two houres was intrenched...', Churchyard, *True Discourse*, p.14.

<sup>179</sup> 'Another symbol of the divide between gun and trader's scales, sword and spade, was the successful insistence of soldiers that if called on to dig fortifications they should get extra pay in compensation for undertaking such demeaning, civilian work.' Hale, *War and Society*, p.129.

<sup>180</sup> Garrard, *Arte of Warre*, p.9.

Sir George Carey said much the same to his militia on the Isle of Wight, threatening that lazy soldiers would be 'degraded to the pickaxe and shovel, amongst the pioneers'.<sup>181</sup> In a letter to the Privy Council Sir Roger Williams describes how he dealt with a group of deserters:

The next daie I caused to be honge the new elected officers and doe keep the reste of the villanes in one great chaine with bread and water, assuringe them there beste usage will be [as] pyoners, unless her Majesty or your Lordships in her highnes name comandes the contrary.<sup>182</sup>

In Ireland, an English soldier who married a local woman 'shall be cashiered from his foot service, and to serve onely as a Pionier'.<sup>183</sup> Pioneering could be regarded as women's work:

They caused also about sixe hundred Burgesses to carry armes; besides two thousand and more of allsorts of people, sufficient to supply the place of pioneers: of which some three hundred women, all under one Ensigne. The womens Captain was a most stout dame, named Captaine Margaret Kenalt.<sup>184</sup>

Comments made after the battle of Nieuwpoort in the English camp reflect this theme, where 'the Ennemie had bragged heretofore that our men were good Spade-men, but durst not fight a sett battell in the field'.<sup>185</sup> The Spanish Army of Flanders also experienced difficulties in tasking soldiers as labourers. At Ostend, the Burgundians, Walloons and Germans refused to build fortifications, and many of the officers attempted to return their commissions, stating that they were combatants, not labourers. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that Spanish, Italian and Irish troops were not required to do such manual work. On one occasion the troops were offered an extra 20 ecus, and although work was further delayed while this was considered, many soldiers accepted the extra money.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, p.26.

<sup>182</sup> Evans, *Works*, p.lxxii.

<sup>183</sup> Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p.303.

<sup>184</sup> Williams, *Actions*, p.88.

<sup>185</sup> Henry Hexham, *A True and Briefe Relation of the Bloody Battell of Nieuport in Flanders, fought betwixt Prince Maurice, of happy memory, and Albert Arch-duke of Austria, upon the second of July 1600* (Delft, 1641), p.12.

<sup>186</sup> De Bonours, *Ostend*, p.227.

This lack of enthusiasm for manual, non-combatant labour seems to have been the reason behind a scolding received by Monro from Gustavus Adolphus himself:

His Majesty...coming before day to visit the workes, and finding them not so farre advanced as he did expect, he falls a chiding of me, notwithstanding of my diligence used the whole night, in keeping the Souldiers still at worke, with the small number of materialls we had to worke with...the truth is, our Country Souldiers cannot endure to worke like the Dutch; neither when they have taken paines, can they worke so formally as others.<sup>187</sup>

Monro, though, was to come to respect such menial duties:

Here also we found by experience, that the spade and the shovell are ever good companions in danger, without which, we had lost the greatest part of our followers. Therefore in all occasions of service, a little advantage of ground is ever profitable against horse, foote, or Cannon. And for this it was, that the best Commanders made ever most use of the spade and the shovell, and that in such ground as was found most commodious for their safeties.<sup>188</sup>

Francis Markham also concluded of pioneering that 'the service it selfe is both noble and necessary', and observed that the Dutch 'caused all their common souldiers in generall to turne Pioners, making them weare both Swords and Spades'.<sup>189</sup> Certainly by the 1637 siege of Breda the Dutch were employing a combination of civilians ('there came a matter of some 3 or 4 thowsand Boores, or hus-bandmen out of Holland, who made an out ditch') and soldiers ('250 workemen of every English, and French Regiment, and proportionally of every Regiment of the whole Army') to work as pioneers.<sup>190</sup> In the English trained bands, without a visible enemy and subject to the status-driven conditions of local society, there was a clear pecking order: 'Propriety expected that gentlemen fought with pikes; the 'nimblest' men with firearms; the clumsiest with bills; and the blockheads with pick and shovel, as pioneers'. Nevertheless, it was calculated that there should be twenty pioneers for every one hundred soldiers, although whether that reflected the labour requirement or just the ratio of nimble men to blockheads is not made clear.<sup>191</sup>

<sup>187</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.39.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid, II, p.42.

<sup>189</sup> Francis Markham, *Epistles*, p.130.

<sup>190</sup> Hexham, *Siege of Breda*, pp.5; 6; 10; 12.

<sup>191</sup> Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, pp. 107; 173.

## The rules of war

It has been common for historians to accept the traditional view that the Thirty Years' War witnessed a descent into military lawlessness that resulted in widespread despoliation and terror across central Europe. Matthew Waxman, in an essay focussing on the 'extraordinary' restraint shown in a letter from Philip II to his governor-general in the Low Countries regarding endorsement of certain measures used to combat the rebels, comments on '...the apparent lack of restraint in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century warfare. This is not to say that certain codes of conduct were nonexistent; rather, the codes were both loose and frequently circumscribed or pushed to their extreme'.<sup>192</sup>

The primary sources would indicate that this interpretation is far from the mark, although certainly the Duke of Alva's time in the Low Countries was marked by his hard line on treating all rebels as traitors and heretics rather than enemy soldiers. That violence and cruelty occurred, particularly during the Thirty Years' War must be readily acknowledged, although the scale and frequency of such horror deserves further discussion. Whatever the outcome of that debate, and prior to the formal international agreement signed at The Hague in 1899, rules of war nevertheless existed in all European theatres including the Empire, and contemporaries knew when they had been broken. Sydenham Poyntz related an account of the Swedish taking Hässelberg before the battle of Nördlingen, during which action the Swedes took some Spanish prisoners: 'Some of the principall officers they gave Quarter unto: but the next morning brought those Spaniards before the whole Army and shot them to death contrary to the Lawes of Armes'.<sup>193</sup> Perhaps Poyntz' account is inaccurate as much of his *Relation* is, and possibly overtly anti-Swedish considering they were his enemy, but judging by his use of the first person in the text, he was present on this particular occasion and it is usually second hand accounts that reflect gossip and myth. The point is, true or untrue, Poyntz feels able to refer to the 'Lawes of Armes' without irony.

There are sufficient examples in the accounts of soldiers to conclude that rules certainly existed, that all parties comprehended them, and that they were often applied.

<sup>192</sup> Matthew C. Waxman, 'Strategic Terror: Philip II and Sixteenth-Century Warfare', *War in History*, Vol. 4(3), 1997, pp.339-347, quote p.341.

<sup>193</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.111. In England a regulation was published stating 'None shall kill an Enemy who yields, and throws down his Armes', Anon, *Lawes and Ordinances of Warre* (London, 1642), Of Duties in Action, V. Clearly Poyntz believed it should have been the case in this instance.

Thomas Churchyard tells us of the Spanish surrender to Sir John Norris near Arnhem in 1585:

...the enemies knowing the want of abilitie to withstand his [Norris'] force, and being without hope of helpe, voluntarily appealed to the law of Armes, that they might depart with bag and baggage: and so they surrendering the Sconce into his hands, the said General with no small credit to his countrie and honour to his name, yielding humble and heartie thanks unto God for his clemencie, entered the said Sconce of Arnhem...<sup>194</sup>

When Major Dunbarre refused the parley at Bredenburg by saying 'that so long as there was bloud in Dunbarres head, that house should never be given over,' his answer 'so incensed the enemy against them, that they sware, if they got the upper hand over them, they should all die without quarters'. The Imperialists had been made to pay a high price for taking their objective due to the robust defence of the Scots. According to the rules of war, Dunbarre had held out too long, refused the parley, and so invoked the justifiable ire of the enemy. Retribution was harsh:

The Enemy...with a generall storme, scorned all quarters, and being entred, cruelly put all to the sword, making no difference of qualitie, age, nor sex, but all alike cruelly put to death: so that five or six at most escaped...The Enemy before this house was taken, as I was informed, lost above a thousand men, which made the Enemies crueltie the greater; and of our Regiment were killed above three hundred. And it is reported, that after the fury was past, they made inquisition into the Majors body, and having found it, they ript up his breast, tooke out his hearte, sundered his gummes, and stucke his heart into his mouth; they also killed the Preacher, who being on his knees, begging life, was denied mercy.<sup>195</sup>

If a staunch defence would result in a ferocious enemy attack, there was nevertheless little respect for slackness in enemy discipline. Those who failed to secure their lines deserved to face serious consequences. In New Brandenburg, Monro reports:

...in the Castle there lay above sixe hundred men of the Imperialists, that might have foughten for good quarters, but being carelesse of their Watch, our commanded Muskietiers, having past the Bridge, were suffered to enter within the Castle, before the Garrison could get to their Armes, and being thus surprized, they got worse quarters, then if they had fought.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> Churchyard, *True Discourse*, p.72.

<sup>195</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, I, p.39.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid*, II, p.15.



Assessments had to be made, of both the enemy's strength and the length of time an invested garrison could hold out. In a siege situation, of which there were many during this period, a garrison commander had to consider the timing of his surrender carefully. Surrender was not in itself an act for which he would necessarily be condemned and his honour impugned.<sup>197</sup> If he got it right, he could march out with his troops and equipment: 'The souldiers to depart with bag and baggage, flying colours, Bullet ith [sic] mouth and burning matches'.<sup>198</sup> If he declared too soon, he could be branded a coward and face the wrath of his superior.<sup>199</sup> If too late, or if he refused completely, the enemy, once they carried the inevitable breach, would put the garrison, and possibly the civilian population,<sup>200</sup> to the sword, as with the case of Major Dunbarre. The Swedish surrender of Brandenburg is another example:

General Tilly hearing the King was marched, and fearing some great design, he pressed Brandenburg so much the harder, with continuall shooting of Cannon until a Breach was made, and then out of time Kniphowsen did send his Lieuetenant Colonell with a Drummer to the breach, to desire a Parle, but being neglected by the enemy, as too late. The Parle refused, Lieuetenant Colonell was killed, the enemy having given Orders for a generall storme which going on, Lieutenant Colonel Lindesey and Captaine Moncreiffe were both killed, and Lieutenant Keith and Ensign Haddon, were also cut downe in the fury, with many a brave Souldier besides, who being denied Quarters, fought valiantly to the last man....<sup>201</sup>

The besieged, then, needed to weigh the odds and if they were heavily against him he either committed his men to die gloriously or, if he wished to avoid slaughter, he needed to act cautiously in order to make the best of a poor situation. Churchyard again comments on an action involving Norris, this time during the Portugal voyage when he was besieging Corunna 'high town': 'The same day (in parley time) a Spaniard shot at an Englishman, and was hanged by the Enemie: In this parley the Enemie desired to have faire warres with us'.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> '...so long as surrender was not premature, treacherous, or cowardly, it did not bring dishonour'; Barbara Donagan, 'The Web of Honour: Soldiers, Christians and Gentlemen in the English Civil War', *Historical Journal*, Vol.44, No. 2, pp.365-389, quote p.368. See section on 'Honour' in Chapter Three above.

<sup>198</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.104. This refers to the Swedish surrender of Regensburg.

<sup>199</sup> For example Baron Hemart, Governor of Grave, who was executed by Leicester for surrendering to Parma after just one day of bombardment; Nolan, *Sir John Norreys*, p.93, and the Spanish commander at Cascais for 'yielding tamely'; Wernham, *Expedition*, p.liv.

<sup>200</sup> The condition of the civilians, through hunger and the possibility of the enemy's retribution, could cause friction between the townspeople and the military; see, for instance, R. Fruin, *The Siege and Relief of Leyden in 1574*, trans. Elizabeth Trevelyan (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1927), p.73.

<sup>201</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.23. See also I, p.39, for an example of 'no quarter' being given following a refusal.

<sup>202</sup> Churchyard, *True Discourse*, p.115.

Inevitably sometimes, the sources make clear, the rules were broken. A German soldier, following surrender to the Swedes after the siege of Straubing, believed he would be released with all his belongings in accordance with the terms of the surrender, but instead found himself pressed into Swedish service with most of his possessions seized.<sup>203</sup> Often once the rules had been broken it was only a matter of time before the shoe would be on the other foot. This collective memory is demonstrated in the case of Magdeburg, where the destruction of the city by fire and consequent death of some 20,000 people was seen by the Protestant world as a deliberate act of Imperialist cruelty and reported on graphically:

...the whole City was in 12 houres space wholly turned to cinders, excepting 139 houses. Sixe goodly Churches were burnt, 20000 people at least were here killd, burned, and smothered. 6000 being observed drowned in the Elve. Tilley's Wallons, and Crabats would give Quarter to few, so that all were killed.<sup>204</sup>

The magnitude of the event led to a revenge factor being added to the soldiers' mentality, either that or a degree of justification for merciless acts: 'Years later, imperialist soldiers crying for quarter would be met with the answer 'Magdeburg quarter' as they were shot down'.<sup>205</sup> Monro, at Frankfurt on the Oder, gives us another example:

After us entered Generall Banier, with a fresh body of Muskietiers, he following the enemy in one street, and Lumsdell and I in another, having rancountred the enemy againe, they being well beaten, our Officers tooke nine Colours of theirs, which were to be presented to his Majestie, and the most part of the Souldiers were cut off, in revenge of their crueltie used at New Brandenburg, but some of their Officers got quarters, such as they had given to ours.<sup>206</sup>

Sometimes the besieged commander was at pains to ensure the rules were fair on both sides even if that meant harsh justice for his own men; at Corunna during the Portugal expedition, corroborating Churchyard's account, Wingfield reports:

The same day the General, having planted his ordnance ready to batter, caused the town to be summoned, in which summons they of the town shot at our drum. Immediately after that there was one hanged over the wall and a parley desired, wherein they gave us to understand that the man hanged was he that shot at the

<sup>203</sup> Anon, *Ein Söldnerleben*, p.143.

<sup>204</sup> Anon, *The Invasions of Germanie, With all the Civill and bloody Warres therein* (London, 1638), paragraph 56.

<sup>205</sup> Wedgwood, *Thirty Years' War*, p.292. See for comparison Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.50.

<sup>206</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.33.

drum before, wherein also they entreated to have fair wars, with promise of the same on their parts.<sup>207</sup>

It was also wise for the garrison commander to read the small print. Poyntz leaves us an interesting account of the Swedish surrender to Imperial forces at Frankfurt:

...the Governor began to parley and at length it was agreed hee should march away with flying colours, bullet in the Mouth, bag and baggage 5 pieces of Canon and 6 Wagons of Amunition and convoy for himself to Mentz where the french Army lay. This halfe Towne thus yielded and hee marching out with all his souldiers, baggage &c hee thinking to have a convoy for all his 2000 men, our Generall caused his souldiers to stand and with our 8000 men made a Ring about them and there our Generall showed hym the Accord which was made betwixt them, wherein hee had forgotten convoy for his men and mentioned it onely for himself which was given hym, but his Officers and souldiers were faine to take the kings pay and so lose all his bag and baggage which fell to our horsmen. The Canons and Amunition was sent backe to the Towne and their colours to the Emperour.<sup>208</sup>

At Manheim, Sir Horace Vere was besieged with fourteen hundred men over an extended line: 'He had no money and no supplies. When he was reduced to extremities he retired into the citadel, and capitulated on honourable terms in the end of September. He and his brave garrison marched out with all the honours of war'.<sup>209</sup>

Henry Hexham reports local ceasefires in order to evacuate the dead, as at Maastricht: 'A parley was had for a certain tyme to fetch of the Alferus [Spanish Ensign] his body, and other prisoners', and again, later 'a parley was beaten for the fetching off of our dead bodies on both sides'.<sup>210</sup> By no means all sieges resulted in the violence reported by Monro, above: '...those of Venlo came to parley and shooting was left on both sides for a while'. All ended peacefully, with the agreement 'that the Officers and Souldiers should march out with flying colours, light matches, bullets in their mouths, and with bagg and baggage...'.<sup>211</sup>

Sir Francis Vere frequently played the rules to suit his ends. In an action at the castle of Litkenhoven, Vere decided to assault first, parley later, and he describes the positive effect this had:

<sup>207</sup> 'Anthony Wingfield's discourse' in Wernham, *Expedition*, p.260.

<sup>208</sup> Goodrick, *Relation*, p.119.

<sup>209</sup> C.R. Markham, *Fighting Veres*, p.419.

<sup>210</sup> Hexham, *Venlo*, pp. 9; 32.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 4/5.

...the Governor of the fort by a drum wrote me a letter, complaining that against the ordinary proceedings of men of war, I assaulted before I summoned; and that drum in mine ear told me, that if I would but do them the honour to shew them any piece of ordnance, I should quickly have the fort.<sup>212</sup>

During the siege of Ostend, some of Vere's tactics came in for criticism. Most controversial was his parley with the Spanish, conducted only to buy time while he awaited the arrival of reinforcements and supplies, and therefore judged to be insincere. This parley was 'of most eminent note, and as most noted, so most and worst censured, and that by sword as well as gown-men.'<sup>213</sup> In short, Vere started negotiations with the Spanish without sharing his intentions with his own officers or the States General, and broke them off with the arrival of the supply vessels: 'whilest we were about to conclude upon the Conditions and Articles, there are arrived certain of our ships of warre...so that we cannot with our Honour and Oath continue the Treaty.'<sup>214</sup> It was afterward conjectured that if the vessels had not arrived in time, Vere would have conceded the town. While the truth of that particular contention shall probably never be known, the result of the 'anti-parley', though, was that he succeeded in buying the time he needed. He also provoked the wrath of the Archduke Albert and his army, who consequently prepared for a major assault, and Vere and his garrison, with their newly arrived reinforcements and provisions, prepared to defend themselves. Perhaps Vere's conduct was not gentlemanly – but it was not that uncommon. Deception was not necessarily cheating, but how one viewed it generally depended on which side of the deception one sat.<sup>215</sup> As a result of the 'anti-parley,' 'the enemy,' according to Hexham, 'had sworn all our deaths,'<sup>216</sup> and so the ferocious attack was repelled with equal ferocity. Heat of battle aside, there was little intention of quarter being offered. Vere had called for an experienced veteran, 'an old souldier, a Gentleman of his company,' to keep watch and let him know when he saw the enemy advance. Shortly this gentleman ventured to Vere: 'My Lord (said he) I smell good store of gold chains, buff-jerkins, Spanish-cassocks, and Spanish-blades. Ha, (sayes Sir Francis Vere) sayest thou me so? I hope thou shalt have some of them anon'.<sup>217</sup> Vere's use of water as a weapon was innovative here: assessing the next Spanish attack would come at low water,

<sup>212</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.16.

<sup>213</sup> So wrote Sir John Ogle, Vere's lieutenant colonel. Ibid, p.144.

<sup>214</sup> Letter from Vere to Archduke Albert, in *ibid*, p.162.

<sup>215</sup> C.R. Markham, predictably, states that there had been 'no breach of faith', C.R. Markham, *Fighting Veres*, p. 323, n1. Trim, in his biographical notes, states that 'there is no doubt that the whole thing was a ruse,' but also comments that 'such negotiations, aimed simply at spinning out time, were common in seventeenth century warfare', *ODNB: Sir Francis Vere*.

<sup>216</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.170.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid, p.171.

‘...at high-water [Vere] shut the West-slucés, and engrossed as much water as possibly he could into the old and new town’.<sup>218</sup> Having beaten off the assault,

General Vere perceiving the enemy to fall off, commanded me to run as fast as ever I could to Serjeant-major Carpenter, and the Auditour Fleming, who were upon the Helmont, that they should presently open the West-slucé, out of which there ran such a stream and torrent down through the chanel of the West-haven, that upon their retreat it carried away many of their sound and hurt men into the sea; and besides, our men fell down our walls after them, slew a great many of their men as they retreated, and took some prisoners, pillaged and stript a great many, and brought in gold-chains, Spanish-pistols, buff-jerkins, Spanish-cassocks, blades, swords, and targets; among the rest, wherein was enameled in gold the seven Worthies, worth seven or eight hundred gilders, and among the rest, that souldier, which Sir Francis Vere had sent out to discover, with as much booty as ever he could lug, saying, That Sir Francis Vere was now as good as his word.<sup>219</sup>

There are several recorded instances of fooling the enemy through ingenuity and ruses. It could have a significant effect, as Hexham tells us of General Stackenburch on the Maas:

Hee had with him some 80 horse, & some 80 firelocks, and tooke with him many trumpets, and Drums, which were to sound, and to beate a charge in sundry places, and coming neere them, hee fell on with his horse, & firelocks, the trumpets sounding, & the Drums beating, gave them such a terrible allarume, that the Enemy supposing (as the runewayes and prisoners reported) that his Excie had given on with his whole Army, did so pusle them, that they run too, and fro, like men amazed, and could not get into Armes: Monsr Stackenburch broke into their trench and cut off a corps de Guard, wherein a Spanish Captaine was slayne, and takeing diverse prisoners, returned back to his quarters.<sup>220</sup>

Prince Maurice and Sir Francis Vere managed to put the considerable Spanish presence at Turnhout to flight by giving the impression their force was greater than it actually was. They killed three hundred and took six hundred prisoners with a total Anglo-Dutch force of less than eight hundred.<sup>221</sup> Duyck tells us of Vere’s ploy in the Zutphen campaign, where in order to seize Rhenen, five soldiers were dressed in women’s clothes, four as farmers, who entered the village to sell produce and successfully surprised the thirteen defenders.<sup>222</sup> During the Bishops’ Wars the Earl of Holland was fooled by the veteran Alexander Leslie with a trick the latter learned in the Thirty Years’ War. Driving cattle

<sup>218</sup> Ibid, p.167.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid, p.174.

<sup>220</sup> Hexham, *Venlo*, p.14.

<sup>221</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, pp. 73-81; C.R. Markham, *Fighting Veres*, pp. 257-261.

<sup>222</sup> Duyck, *Journal*, I, p.6.

behind his infantry, a huge cloud of dust was created giving Holland to believe that Leslie's force was far larger than it actually was.<sup>223</sup> The Prince of Orange Frederick-Henry was not beyond such tactics; understanding the Spanish believed his offensive to be targeting Flanders:

...his highnesse Caused two hundred empty ships, with the shippers onely, and some few drummers in them, to Saile up the Scheld, and along the Land of Waes, to make shew of landing there, which gave the Enemy So strong an alarme in all those parts, that they never thought of his coming any where else, his highnesse in the interim kept his course towards Bergin up zoom...<sup>224</sup>

We can assume that the Duke of Alva was breaking the rules when he hanged one of two trumpeters sent to him by William the Silent at Valenciennes in 1568.<sup>225</sup> He ordered 'no quarter' and 'hang all prisoners' at Heiligerlee, as he 'would not accord the decencies of war to rebels and traitors'.<sup>226</sup> The Alva era at the beginning of the Dutch revolt was a particularly bloody period, but ultimately his severe approach did not work and he returned to Spain with his standing in court much diminished.

These examples, although interesting, do not detract from the fact that there were rules. An army had to attempt to maintain discipline and follow its own rules. Several sets of regulations were published in this period. The Swedish produced Articles of War in 1621 based on the Dutch military code of 1591,<sup>227</sup> Leicester produced his *Lawes and Ordinaunces* when in the Low Countries,<sup>228</sup> and in addition to the *Lawes and Ordinances*,<sup>229</sup> produced in 1642 as England moved towards war, Henry Hexham produced his *Appendix* so that the warring parties in England could benefit from the martial discipline of the United Provinces.<sup>230</sup> Appendix 3 lists the orders and ordinances that were printed during the period.

<sup>223</sup> Mark Charles Fissel, *English Warfare, 1511-1642* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p.278.

<sup>224</sup> Hexham, *Siege of Breda*, p.3.

<sup>225</sup> Williams, *Actions*, p.27.

<sup>226</sup> Wedgwood, *William the Silent*, p.105. 'The question was complicated enough in wars between states, but in a civil war it was necessary at some point to decide whether to treat opponents as hostile soldiers or as rebels to whom standards of honour were irrelevant', Donagan, 'Web of Honour', p.387.

<sup>227</sup> Roger B. Manning, 'Prince Maurice's School of War: British Swordsmen and the Dutch', *War & Society*, Vol.25, No.1, May 2006, pp.1-19, detail from p.16.

<sup>228</sup> Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, *Lawes and Ordinances Militarie* (Leiden, 1586).

<sup>229</sup> Anon, *Lawes and Ordinances Of Warre, Established for the better Conduct Of The Army* (London, 1642).

<sup>230</sup> Hexham, Henry, *An Appendix Of the Lawes, Articles, & Ordinances, established for Marshall Discipline, in the service of the Lords the States General of the united Provinces, under the Commaund of his Highnesse the Prince of Orange* (Delft, 1643).

## Conclusion

In this chapter we have discussed the contribution made by soldier-authors to our knowledge of early modern warfare. Sometimes the detail provided amplifies our existing information; sometimes it adds something entirely new. The issue surrounding the presentation of such material by soldier-authors remains unresolved. Did they provide information incidentally as they sought to tell an engaging and potentially commercially profitable tale? Or did they intend to use their narrative to persuade an elite and influential audience? Or to justify poor performance? These deficiencies are problems for the historian but are no excuse for ignoring soldiers' publications. Certainly these sources contribute considerably to the modern debate about change in the army. For many historians, early-modern soldiers engaged in combat were fighting during a period of 'military revolution'. Barwick and Williams, it has been noted above, regarded that revolution as being the completed progression from bows to firearms, and Robert Barret agreed.<sup>231</sup> Following many years of discussion, John Childs announced the death of the debate on this 'military revolution'.<sup>232</sup> Arguing that revolutions are 'sharp, sudden events' of limited duration that do not occur over a protracted period, he has refuted the terminology used by other historians such as Michael Roberts and Geoffrey Parker, describing the changes in military technology and tactics as evolutionary rather than anything more dramatic.<sup>233</sup> Technological change was slow and slight, and whether tactical structural changes are regarded as revolutionary or evolutionary, wars became enduring and, as a result, soldiers through their long experience became skilled at fighting them. Deadlock was the over-riding characteristic of the French, Dutch and later German theatres of war. The 'brables of Ireland,'<sup>234</sup> despite drawing an almost consistent English and Scottish military presence, remained a low-level guerrilla affair fought in the main outside the interest or participation of continental Europeans which inspired little strategic or tactical review worthy of export, and the nature of the Irish wars saw little synergy with

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<sup>231</sup> '...the warres and weapons are now altered from them dayes [of bow and bill], and we must accommodate ourselves to the now used weapons, order, and time...', Barret, *Theorike*, p.4.

<sup>232</sup> John Childs, *Warfare in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Cassell, 2001), p.22. Apparently the discussion continues; Tallett and Trim, *European Warfare*, pp.7-9 and *passim*.

<sup>233</sup> Michael Roberts, *The Military Revolution, 1560-1660* (Belfast: Queen's University Press, 1956); Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1988.

<sup>234</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, p.1.

the conflicts in Europe.<sup>235</sup> Knowledge of 'modern' warfare came to the English court largely through the involvement of volunteers fighting on the continent, who reported to the government on the events in Europe, predicted those conflicts to advance onto home territory, and made recommendations for the defence of the realm. Apart from the limited military activity in Ireland, which did not directly threaten the security of the homeland (until 1641), England and Scotland had been at peace for as far back as living memory extended. To the professional soldier peace itself could be regarded as an unwelcome interregnum within the 'perpetuall warre' that raged throughout the history of the world,<sup>236</sup> as peace produced a woeful lack of readiness when war inevitably returned:

For long peace hath bred Securitie; Securitie, carelesse mindes; carelesse mindes, contempt of warre; contempt of warre, the dispising of souldiars and Martiall discipline...let us consider the [Ancients], so long as they maintained Martiall discipline, ruled each the Monarchie in their times, but discipline neglected, disorders grew on, new Martialists sprung up, and overturned their wealth, state, and kingdomes, with a finall ruine of their names and Nations.<sup>237</sup>

Martial men regarded peace as a careless attitude of mind, which dwelt in the towns and counties as much as in the circles of government. In England, despite this prevalent opinion, held not least by the Queen herself, elements within Elizabeth's government were forced to consider the implications of war, as was even the pacific James towards the end of his reign; fighting the enemy abroad was a much preferred option to awaiting his arrival on home turf. They were aware that there were 'manie brave men of our nation which have long followed the warres, both in the Low Countries, France, and other places,'<sup>238</sup> thus, informally and unofficially, ensuring the continuance of the English military tradition and keeping pace with European technological and tactical developments.

Early modern warfare was extremely hard and dangerous work for those deployed in its execution. Observations and conclusions about the lack of quick and sweeping

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<sup>235</sup> The expertise gained in amphibious warfare in Ireland was retained in that theatre, and can be set against the unimpressive English amphibious assaults against Spain. Mark Charles Fissel, 'English Amphibious Warfare, 1587-1656,' in Trim and Fissel, *Amphibious Warfare*, p.217.

<sup>236</sup> Monro, *Expedition*, I, p.52.

<sup>237</sup> Barret, *Theorike*, p.2.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid*, p.24.



success in battle (as well as a corresponding absence of unmitigated and total defeat) has been presented by historians from material mainly drawn from political documents and the correspondence of civilians. Such sources shed a great deal of light on the issues over which wars were fought, the expense of creating armed forces, and the effect of warfare on the economy and the state. However they rarely show what was felt, physically and acutely, by those who did the fighting, and it is through these men that we witness the true experience of warfare. For those with their boots in the mud, warfare was logistically complex, physically demanding and often psychologically harrowing; it required men to subject themselves to potentially fatal disease as well as lethal or permanently debilitating wounds from firearms and blades without adequate medical support, in addition to penury, excessive exercise, bad food and trying weather conditions. The early modern military tradition of Britain was not created and maintained at home, but developed abroad as part of a pan-European activity. For Englishmen, Welshmen and Scots their combat experience for this period was entirely in foreign lands (as to them Ireland was certainly foreign), with alien climate, diet and language with which additionally to contend.

## Conclusion

This thesis has argued that many of the aspects of early-modern warfare can be understood from the printed evidence of soldiers themselves, and that their accounts often provide the detail that enhances and enriches our understanding of war during the period in ways that substantially augment the information contained in state documents and correspondence, the main sources for historiographical debate. Knowledgeable and experienced professional soldiers such as Robert Monro, Henry Hexham, Francis Markham and Sir Roger Williams published books that were a response to public interest in military affairs, an interest that is reflected in the dramatic rise in the number of editions of military publications shown in Table 2 in the Introduction. Such men presented, in the main, accounts that reflect personal experience of the difficulties in forming, deploying and administering an army as well as facing the enemy in combat. They may have written to augment a meagre income, such as Barnaby Rich and possibly Monro, or perhaps to enhance their reputation, such as Sir Francis Vere, but they nevertheless believed they had relevant first-hand information on topical subject matter that was much in demand. The nature of that demand is evidenced through the growth in the number of military works detailed in the appendices. Often the accuracy of the information contained within the works can be reasonably assumed: it can be seen that Monro's account was drawn from extensive notes taken on campaign such is the accuracy and detail of his information, and Hexham in the main published shortly after the events to which he was very probably a frequent eye-witness. Both authors survive cross-referencing with other sources. Even Vere's controversial account has been corroborated by other eyewitnesses and was not condemned by contemporaries as inaccurate.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to discern any political bias towards a certain influential individual to whom a work was dedicated, such as Humfrey Barwick seeking leverage from his powerful governor Henry Carey, or if a work may have been purposefully directed in line with public opinion, such as Hexham regarding his challenge to the pacifist policy of James I, but either way the opinions

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<sup>1</sup> Borman's criticism of Vere's *Commentaries* is ambiguous; she tends to support the Dutch historiography which, unsurprisingly, attributes victory to Dutchmen rather than Englishmen, but she nevertheless accepts his military competence. Tracy Borman, 'Sir Francis Vere in the Netherlands, 1589-1603: A re-evaluation of his career as Sergeant Major General of Elizabeth I's troops', PhD thesis, University of Hull, 1997, pp.32-4.

of the authors can generally be accepted as legitimate: their political, religious and military views were logically aligned and the only unknown factor is to what *extent* a bias may have influenced their work.<sup>2</sup> And yet problems remain with the use of such sources. The original manuscript texts will have gone through a publishing process that will have included a degree of editing, for political or practical reasons, particularly when works were published after the death of the author, and it is not easy to discern changes to an author's intent; these aspects are discussed in Chapter One. Another major factor that would affect our judgement of a work is visibility of the contemporary reaction to the printed material; often the peer reviews of such works are lost to us. Unless there was a direct or obvious reference to a work, such as Barwick and Williams in their response to Smythe as discussed in Chapters One and Four, it is difficult to gauge the consensus of professional opinion and assess the impact and perceived value of a printed book.

Nevertheless, and despite such unknown factors and their potential to influence our assessment, the works of the soldier-authors have been analysed, and from them conclusions drawn on the soldiery of the British Isles and the wars in which they fought. Considering the tens of thousands who were engaged in these wars, there are very few existing accounts available, leaving only a snapshot view of the period from which to assess the roots of their motivation and subsequent development. There is therefore a mountain of opinion lost to sight. Not only are there very few accounts available but all the accounts have been produced by the educated and therefore literate classes, the leaders, and often the terminology they use is directed towards and about their own class or higher. Although through this thesis a 'mercenary' can now be distinguished from a 'professional' soldier and a 'soldier of fortune' from a 'gentleman adventurer,' these terms have invariably described 'gentlemen,' a term that itself has been used by contemporaries to stretch from yeoman to upper gentry. Reference to the common people, the rank and file, is rare, access to their opinions almost non-existent. Considering cavalry and pikemen were drawn from a higher social strata coupled with the proliferation of 'gentlemen adventurers' scattered through units, the early modern army can be seen to be an organisation that was still based on the medieval concept of honour and chivalry in that 'gentlemen' felt obliged, and had the opportunity and desire, to go to war.

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<sup>2</sup> See section on 'Reasons for publishing' in Chapter One above.

Armies required vast numbers of men when compared with other professions or vocations so are by nature a melting pot of good and bad, zealous and apathetic, veteran and novice. The soldiers analysed throughout this thesis, from the first Welsh volunteers who deployed to the Netherlands at the beginning of the Dutch revolt through to the Scots returning from Germany at the start of the British Civil Wars, were individuals who came from differing backgrounds with diverse prospects and who held varying religious and political views. They were all men of their times who adapted as best they could within the prevailing climate of change. With one notable exception they were not mercenaries, and even Poyntz fought with honour.

As Chapter One indicates, the published writings of soldiers fitted into a number of contemporary traditions, while emerging genres within the military sphere are also evident. These include the use of dialogue after Machiavelli, adopted by Hexham,<sup>3</sup> Barret,<sup>4</sup> and Blandy;<sup>5</sup> Monluc and Vere's *Commentaries* after Caesar;<sup>6</sup> and the writings of travellers such as William Lithgow.<sup>7</sup> There were also new military genres appearing: the text-book instruction manuals of which Peter Whitehorn's was the first in English but de Gheyn's one of the most widely published,<sup>8</sup> and also an amalgam of autobiography/history narrative as produced by Williams,<sup>9</sup> Hexham,<sup>10</sup> and Monro.<sup>11</sup> The latter produced what was in effect the first regimental history, through autobiography, in any language.<sup>12</sup> The categories of writings are not necessarily easily discerned, and this is discussed throughout Chapter One above, and below in the 'Notes to Appendices'. The sources are not transparent and the historian must use whatever tools he or she can to penetrate them. Modern work on education, literacy and the history of the book has proved especially valuable. The intentions and motivations

<sup>3</sup> Henry Hexham, *A Tongue-Combat lately happening between two English Souldiers* (London, 1623).

<sup>4</sup> Robert Barret, *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (London, 1598).

<sup>5</sup> William Blandy and Geffrey Gates, *The Castle, or picture of pollicy* (London, 1581).

<sup>6</sup> Monluc, *The Commentaries of Messire Blaize de Montluc, Mareschal of France*, trans. Charles Cotton (London, 1674); William Dillingham, ed., *The Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere* (Cambridge, 1657).

<sup>7</sup> William Lithgow, *A True and Experimental Discourse upon the beginning, proceeding and Victorious event of this last siege Of Breda* (London, 1637).

<sup>8</sup> Peter Whitehorne, *Certain Waies for the order yng of Souldiers in battelray* (London, 1562); Jacob de Gheyn, *The exercise of Armes For Calivres, Muskettes, and Pikes* (The Hague, 1607).

<sup>9</sup> Sir Roger Williams, *The Actions of the Low Countries* (London, 1618).

<sup>10</sup> Hexham was the most prodigious of soldier-authors, see Serial 92 of Appendix 1.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Monro, *Monro, His Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment (called Mac-Keyes Regiment) levied in August 1626* (London, 1637).

<sup>12</sup> William S. Brockington Jr, ed., *Monro, His Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment called Mac-Keys* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger, 1999), p.ix.

underlying the production and dissemination of soldiers' narratives have been analysed, in so far as the evidence permits. Close reading of the actual texts can, however, reveal a good deal.

Additionally, the study has sought in Chapter Two to disentangle historians' debates about the extent to which the military matched twentieth- and twenty-first century definitions of profession and professionalization from what contemporary soldiers meant by the terms 'professional', 'profession of arms' and 'mercenary'. Contemporary views of the various categories of soldier are important. The thesis concludes that while there have been attempts by historians to clarify the correct terminology for soldier categorisation those attempts have invariably fallen short of accepting the evidence of early-modern printed works and continued to refer to all British soldiers involved in continental wars as 'mercenaries'. This catchall term ignores the complex arguments that soldiers articulated, sometimes clearly sometimes subliminally, for going to the wars; arguments that historians have themselves acknowledged yet continually failed to 'offer a prescriptive definition of what constitutes a mercenary'.<sup>13</sup> This reflects the ambiguities of the term and the difficulties associated with its application; that historians consistently struggle with a definition indicates how inherently problematic the classification of soldiers is and points to this term as the epicentre of any discussion on the motivation for, and contemporary views on the morality of, early-modern soldiering. The soldiers should be categorised with care, and Chapter Two has drawn conclusions based on soldiers' texts, and these conclusions have attempted to clarify a previously opaque picture.

An attempt has been made throughout the thesis to relate information provided by these texts to the debates and narratives constructed by historians on the basis of different categories of source. The negative view held by the older generation of twentieth-century historians such as Fortescue and Firth is in itself a reflection of the frustrations of mounting land operations in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.<sup>14</sup> They suggested that soldiers from the British Isles, who were a long way from home and seldom reported back on any meaningful successes, rarely seemed to change the course of foreign affairs for the better. Unlike sailors, whose image was enhanced by the enormous success of defeating the Spanish

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<sup>13</sup> David J.B. Trim, 'Fighting "Jacob's Wars". The Employment of English and Welsh Mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562-1610', PhD thesis, University of London, 2002, p.30.

<sup>14</sup> See Introduction above.

Armadas, soldiers drained the tax-funded treasury through the military stalemate they had produced.

Recent historians have taken a closer, more critical look at the historiography and found the older generation's thesis to be somewhat misguided. This revised view is supported by the present analysis of soldiers' works, which shows that soldiers were for the most part underfunded, which had a seriously negative effect on their ability to wage effective warfare. They faced an enemy over which they had no technological, financial or moral superiority. In fact their enemy was in many respects identical to them: indeed sometimes they faced soldiers from their own nation. These soldiers expended enormous physical effort and sometimes personal financial outlay in attempting to beat that enemy for the good of the 'public weal' as their aim was invariably in line with public opinion if not necessarily openly-stated royal policy.

A constant thread through the thesis is the relationship between the composite parts of the British Isles, and between those areas and Europe. Through this discussion the complex relationship between military culture and the development of a proto-nationalism can be discerned. The use of gunpowder and its connection to the evolution of the nation-state has been discussed by historians and is touched upon in Chapter Four,<sup>15</sup> and a tandem debate is the notion early-modern soldiers had of 'nationhood'. The issue of loyalty and honour is discussed at length in Chapter Three, and through this it can be seen that there was a variety of opinion, ranging from a Welsh soldier's fierce loyalty towards an English Queen (Williams) to a Scotsman's devotion to his ruling House which he now perceived as 'British', even though 'Great Britain' was still largely only a political concept beneath the person and foreign policy (and imagination) of the reigning monarch (Monro). Still there were soldiers who fought for the 'wrong' side against their 'nation' in the modern view, such as Barret and Garrard, and they were able to do so without impeachment and their works were openly published and sold. Clearly there was a historical and traditional antipathy between Scots and English, but the publications reveal to a large extent that soldiers from both nations when on the Continent, working together in difficult circumstances, developed far closer relationships with one

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<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, Kelly DeVries, 'Gunpowder Weaponry and the Rise of the Early Modern State', *War in History*, 1998, 5 (2), pp.127-45.

another than did the courtiers who despised each other in London. Monro's account of the soldiery in Germany indicates that the two nations were brought together through professional empathy, no doubt assisted by linguistic compatibility, and Williams' account for the Low Countries a generation earlier explicitly supports this. Englishmen and Scots were comrades in arms abroad. As such, the sources present an image of British unity that historians have generally ignored, preferring to highlight the differences between the two nations and the independent actions of Scots. In Germany Protestantism and/or the condition of the British dynasty could be championed. Either that or a Briton could stand aloof from the quarrels of foreigners and fight for either side through the lack of any alternative vocation, although it was likely that over time he would feel an allegiance to the side he had most frequently or latterly served which could be held against him on return home, as in the case of Poyntz. For the most part Englishmen had fought alongside Scots in a pan-European Protestant effort to combat what they perceived to be a militant and resurgent Catholicism. Financial impoverishment, extended lines of communications, difficult terrain, military defeat and the complexities of politico-religious developments all contributed to the pressure on an individual, thus some soldiers were forced to change sides in the Thirty Years' War, a common trend in that conflict if not the Dutch Revolt, although for the most part the soldiers analysed in this thesis stuck with their first employer with whom they often discerned a spiritual, religious or political bond.

The issues for the Welsh, as discussed in the Introduction, very much mirrored the issues of the English, and if they were to become notable for their Royalism during the Civil War, this was a stance of which perhaps Sir Roger Williams would have approved given his declared do-or-die attachment to the English monarch.<sup>16</sup> Such loyalty when combined with the honour code by which Williams clearly lived, and which is shown through his writings, indicates a flaw in the argument of historians who believed that honour was separate from and superior to loyalty, and that the two were in contention. Chapter Three has considered this through the work of Williams and others and shown that the two were very much complimentary and that neither affected the professional soldier's ability to modernise.

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<sup>16</sup> Ronald Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort 1642-1646* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p.15. Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), p.772.

The Irish were in significant aspects a case apart, as explained in the Introduction. Viewed as barbaric and troublesome, their English overlords regarded military subjugation as the only solution to their perceived dissolute ways and entrenched Catholicism. They presented a threat to homeland security that an enemy, notably the Spanish, could exploit, thus their territory remained an area that the English felt they needed to physically dominate with a military force, unlike Wales and Scotland after the Union of the Crowns which remained benign self-administrating areas at least until the Cromwellian occupation as a consequence of the Civil Wars. The Irish were to provide many thousands of soldiers to, almost exclusively, the Catholic powers, be that the Empire, Spain or France. That said, and inevitably for this historical period, there are exceptions to this rule and there were groups of Irish Catholics who found themselves fighting for the Danish against the Empire alongside Protestants from their home district, although there exists an element of confusion over how many of these troops were Irish and how many Scots.<sup>17</sup>

All of these British 'nations' had historical and contemporary links with Europe: trading, political and religious. The latter, particularly through the confessional stand-off between Calvinism and Counter-Reformation Catholicism, saw each bloc develop a cross-border international identity which clashed on the battlefields of France, the Low Countries and Germany, but in the case of the reformed Calvinist church its component member nations were not sufficiently united or coordinated to overthrow the Catholic enemy and this has been discussed in Chapter Three. The British Isles witnessed the final phase of these religiously inspired conflicts in its Civil War, when the military tradition that had continued to develop on the Continent was transferred to home territory, as foreseen by some of the soldier-authors.<sup>18</sup> In large part the armies that faced each other in the British Isles employed men who had learned their trade abroad: the third earl of Essex; Sir Thomas Fairfax; Philip Skippon; Sir William Waller; Sir Jacob Astley; Sir Nicholas Byron; Sir Thomas Glemham; Sir Ralph Hopton; Baron Goring and George Monck were famous leaders of the Civil War from the European school. Also the sources for this thesis, Monro, Poyntz and Turner returned to fight. Hexham, possibly due to his age, did not. The result was an army of the 1650s that, through

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<sup>17</sup> Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603-1660* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003), p.205.

<sup>18</sup> Such as Robert Ward, discussed in the 'Introduction' to Chapter Four above.



war experience and its European-trained leadership, could consider itself second to none at the time and represented the beginning of a lengthy British Army tradition.

There have been examples of Britons, in groups and as individuals, who took to soldiering all over Europe, and a main effort of this thesis has been to clarify their motivation, largely through the themes of religion and personal loyalty. This was a violent society.<sup>19</sup> To some extent, Britons abroad found a reason to fight once they were there. They did not all head for the Protestant armies, as the account of Sydenham Poyntz informs us. Those who did could write pages on the good old Protestant (Calvinist) cause whilst fighting alongside Catholics and for a Lutheran monarch, as in the case of Monro. The Lutheran and Calvinist divide was to be subject to an amnesty in the Empire as they combined, eventually, to face the Catholic forces of the Emperor. The issue of loyalty and religious belief, and the relationship between the two, was to become a far more complex issue for Britons as the political situation crumbled in the British Isles during the 1640s. Sir James Turner's dilemma is comprehensible. Those returning from the Netherlands could say with some certainty that they had been fighting Counter-Reformation Catholicism, and while this was somewhat more problematic in the Empire there were nevertheless discernible religious 'sides' if it suited an individual to identify them. But unless it was seriously believed that King Charles was fighting for the Pope (which it seems few did despite the Parliamentary propaganda effort and the King's injudicious diplomatic moves towards the See of Rome<sup>20</sup>), how would their previous employment aid them in their decision making when they got home? The whole issue of personal loyalty was to be set in stark relief in 1642, and is still subject to lengthy historical debate today. The soldiers' careers reviewed in this thesis would indicate that the selection of a side on return to Britain was not a straightforward affair. Although religion may have enabled an initial decision to have been taken, the development of the wars and the complexities of the issues witnessed none of our main authors remaining with their chosen side throughout the Interregnum. Nevertheless, and for the sake of balance, there were those who were constant: Philip Skippon resolutely fought for Parliament despite some apparent

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<sup>19</sup> See, for instance, the section on 'Duelling' in Chapter Three above. For the representation of violence in the plays of Shakespeare, see: R.A. Foakes, *Shakespeare and Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>20</sup> Mark Charles Fissel, *English Warfare 1511-1642* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p.276. Foreign perceptions are noteworthy; in Sweden Axel Oxenstierna believed Charles I to be both a Catholic and 'a great tyrant,' while Queen Kristina 'felt that Charles only held sway with the Catholics in his kingdoms'; Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569-1654* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp.198; 207.

misgivings along the way, and his motivation would appear to have been his strong yet individual (Independent) Protestantism and possibly his close association with London, the geographic, spiritual and financial centre of Parliamentarianism.

The widest, and potentially the most complex theme is attempting to place people and their motives for fighting into a wider context that takes account of a variety of influences on their decision making process and their perception of the world about them. Religion was a matter of enormous importance, but nevertheless not everyone was godly. Warfare was a topical subject and one which had developed its own growing genre of literature, but there were few, as a proportion of the population, who were skilled at it. The combination of religious belief and warfare led to an eschatological viewpoint for some, and Brigadier Young reminds us that the un-planned battle at Edgehill was fought in the Vale of the Red Horse, and thus took on an eschatological aspect to those who would wish it to, like the Puritan John Vicars:

The Rider is Truth, the Red-Horse, Gods vindicative-wrath, the Great Sword, the great destruction to be made, Peace taken from the Earth, that is, from the wicked and Idolaters of the Earth. Thus Mr Brightman, and thus say I, here was Truth in our Parliaments Army riding on the Red-Horse, this Meadow so called, with a great Sword or slaughter of just revenge, taking peace and comfort from those wicked Earthen-Cavaliers, and Romish Idolaters, there combined and banded together against God and his Truth. And was not here a most remarkable mistery, thus made clear unto us in this Meadow? let the judicious and godly judge.<sup>21</sup>

Such views are not common, but glimpses of this apocalyptic backdrop have been seen through the writings of Thomas Churchyard and Geoffrey Gates.

Money, whether as the 'sinews of war' or the soldier's 'pelf,' was always relevant. All soldiers needed it in modest quantities in order to survive, whatever their cause, and all leaders required a system of acquiring it in large quantities in order to maintain an army and thus make war. A cynical view may be that money always lay behind the seventeenth-century war effort. The small print at the very end of Hexham's account of Breda compares the two sieges of that city, the first 'cost his Majestie, the King of Spaine Eight Millions of Guilders' whilst

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<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Peter Young, *Edgehill 1642* (Moreton-in-Marsh: Windrush, 1995), p.xvii.

the second only 'Cost the States 500,000 Gilders'.<sup>22</sup> It is possible to contend that with the Dutch, trading as they did with the enemy and supporting the Spanish war effort for financial gain (arguably to support their own), economic motivation was the strongest of all. That said, at the very top of the political pyramid outside the United Provinces financial gain was seldom the issue. Elizabeth spent her money wisely and stretched every penny, but spend it she nevertheless did. Her issue was national defence, and that set her apart from her predecessors. It was the continuous insistence of consecutive Spanish kings on committing enormous sums out of the wealth of the Americas in order to expunge the heretic from the Low Countries, consistently their highest priority over all other political and administrative issues in the Netherlands, that allowed the conflict in that area to continue for so long, thus the kings' issue was religion not profit. In the Empire the religiously inspired Edict of Restitution saw the tables turn against the victorious Catholics (but Poyntz has advised us to consider the reaction to it as an issue of reduced wealth through loss of land rather than religion).<sup>23</sup> In Britain King Charles, with haphazard funding reliant at times only upon voluntary contributions, put his 'honour' above all other considerations thus bulldozing his way through negotiation and compromise to war.<sup>24</sup> To him, honour could not be compromised at any price.<sup>25</sup> Thus the economy, religion and honour, and as their leaders were committed to fight for each, so was the soldier: money in order to live, God in order to save his soul, and honour that he may gain the respect of his peers.

Writing in 1851 about the Thirty Years' War Scots soldier Sir John Hepburn, James Grant considered the production of a memoir on an individual 'a more pleasant mode of illustrating the manners of an age than can be achieved in narrating the more cumbrous annals of a nation'.<sup>26</sup> To use literature produced by the participants in any historical period as the basis for a thesis is to accept the inevitable subjectivity that comes with it, but that makes the investigation into its veracity all the more compelling. The main soldier-authors of the narratives used in this study have produced works that reflect their lives in combat. Their

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<sup>22</sup> Henry Hexham, *A True and Briefe Relation of the Famous Seige of Breda* (Delft, 1637), final page.

<sup>23</sup> See section on 'Religion and the Holy Roman Empire' in Chapter Three above.

<sup>24</sup> On the relevance of the King's honour see Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, pp.918; 940; 954. See also Fissel, *English Warfare*, p.280.

<sup>25</sup> Roger B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.10.

<sup>26</sup> James Grant, *Memoirs And Adventures Of Sir John Hepburn: Knight, Governor Of Munich, Marshall Of France Under Louis XIII, And Commander Of The Scots Brigade Under Gustavus Adolphus, Etc* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1851), Preface.

experiences were broadly similar, with the exception of Hexham. Hexham rarely speaks in the first person singular, the only notable occasion being the part he apparently played at Ostend in taking Vere's order to Carpenter and Fleming to open the sluice gates during a Spanish attack.<sup>27</sup> Other than that he could be mistaken for a passive observer. That he was never wounded together with his unusually slow progress to the rank of captain are also indicative of a man who was never quite immersed in the thick of things. Nevertheless, he has collated his information and presented his accounts as well as any historian of the period. His version of Nieuwpoort borrows in part verbatim from Vere's account in the *Commentaries*. Whether Hexham was actually present at the battle or not is unclear; he was certainly at Ostend as a young page a year later. Hexham combines several of the literary genres discussed above. He wrote on the military art and was influential in England; he was certainly familiar with, and contributed to, Dillingham's collation on Vere despite its publication after his death; he presumably kept diary notes although his works were usually published within a year of the events they retell; and although he was probably an eyewitness to everything he writes this is not clearly reflected in the text so there is no obvious autobiographical content. He ends his accounts of s'Hertogenbosch, Breda and Venlo with a prayer, underlining his belief in the righteousness of the cause.

Monro provides the most comprehensive account of the experience of warfare. He, like Poyntz, personally received the full onslaught of the Thirty Years' War.<sup>28</sup> Throughout the period amongst the grimmest of conditions, during which time he witnessed wholesale slaughter, he appears to have never lost his Calvinist faith, and his 'Meditations', as well as other paragraphs in the main text, bare witness to his deeply held Protestant belief. His account, thorough and accurate in terms of events and details, gives many subjective opinions, particularly on religion, individuals and national groups, but he does not attempt to over-sell his abilities as a soldier and leader. His claim to have known Gustavus and to have disagreed with him on occasion is plausible, not least because he relates that the King insisted on having his way and ridiculed Monro in the process, a show of humility that Monro did not need to

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<sup>27</sup> Dillingham, *Commentaries*, p.174. Excepting this occasion he uses 'we' and 'our' but rarely 'I'.

<sup>28</sup> For instance at Alte Feste, where Monro was shot: '...the Hill was nothing els but fire and smoke, like to the thundering Echo of a Thunderclap, with the noise of Cannon and Musket...we losing our best Souldiers, grew so weak in the end, that the Brigbads of foote had scarce bodies of Pikemen to Guard their Colours, the Muskietiers being almost vanished and spent through the continuance of hot service...', Monro, *Expedition*, II, p.148.

share with an audience.<sup>29</sup> Criticised for verbosity, *Expedition* nevertheless contains a mine of information for those who have the patience and interest to analyse it. For any study of British involvement in the Thirty Years' War it is an important work that shows little sign of editors' interference.

Vere, for all the reasons discussed above, has produced a work that seems to be a true reflection of his position on the battlefield as he saw it. His style has produced an historical debate which, for the most part, ignores the evidence and misses the point: that he was a skilled and active commander; that he was well respected by his men; that both the English and the Dutch rewarded him handsomely for his efforts; that even his critics accept that he was an efficient leader. He was not a Caesar. He was neither high enough in the chain of command nor politically motivated, but he produced the type of military report based on Caesar's model written in the factual, no-nonsense style of the soldier. He does not need to cite God and requires no reason to justify his reason for being where he is or for fighting his enemy: he fights for his Queen and her allies, and they both pay him. In return he subjects himself to constant danger and bodily harm. It is the ancient contract between soldier and prince and all parties are content with it.

Williams' three publications require a slightly closer look to verify their intent and authenticity. *Briefe Discourse*, produced as a military advisory manual, appeared in his lifetime and was therefore presumably as he intended it. *Actions* was produced several years after his death, but the editor goes to some lengths to convince the reader that it remains as Williams produced it, and to be fair it has the ring of Williams to it. *Newes*, a small publication of twenty pages, is curious in that it has been written-off as a work of Williams and yet it appeared in his lifetime; perhaps he was paid for the use of his name. The two main publications, *Actions* and *Briefe Discourse*, can therefore be taken as authentic works. Sir Peter Manwoode compared the *Actions* to Caesar's *Commentaries*, but in fact it begins as a history in that Williams has no personal experience of the Alva years. It continues as a history although it moves into a period where Williams himself was involved and yet, like Hexham, the reader is never quite sure how close Williams is to the events he is describing. Despite Evans' observation that the letters of Williams contain 'abundant evidence of zealous

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<sup>29</sup> Monro replaced an officer appointed by Gustavus with his cousin, David Monro, and Gustavus ridiculed him in front of General Baner. Ibid, II, p.12.

Protestantism', he nevertheless admits 'most Englishmen shared these sentiments' and that in 'searching for evidence that Sir Roger was a Puritan we come away empty-handed'.<sup>30</sup>

The 'rogue' amongst them is Poyntz, in that he admits the mercenary code whilst the others most emphatically do not, and his memoir was clearly written without the intent of publication or even limited distribution in manuscript as to have done either would have courted a world of problems for him; these observations make it all the more fascinating. And yet there is common ground between Poyntz and the others. Chapter Two looks at the code of honour adopted by this soldier of fortune and he compares favourably with the general (Vere), the Calvinists (Hexham and Monro) and the Queen's loyal professional (Williams). Poyntz was a brave soldier, who started out a mercenary; he did not develop into one. His journey took him the alternative route, from a man with no creed to one who appears to have tried very hard to adopt one, and as his course altered so he struggled with the principles that underpinned his actions. In the end the passions of the time in war-torn England would not entertain a Catholic past and so Poyntz was obliged to deny his previous religious meanderings, and instead he took another radical, and ultimately equally unacceptable religious stance. He was destined never to find a compromise and died in the far-off Caribbean with whatever version of Christianity he found solace in. His *Relation* appears honestly told, if full of errors; perhaps a reflection of the man himself.

Penetrating the sources to reveal the motivations of soldiers in going to war is fraught with difficulties. Nevertheless, the sources suggest that soldiers from the British Isles went abroad to fight for one specific or a combination of several reasons, that they served for varying duration, that they were generally but not always religiously aligned if not necessarily zealous and that they were in sufficient numbers to ensure the continuance of a centuries-old martial tradition. Not all soldiers were volunteers, and the poor quality men that were the focus of an earlier generation of historians, discussed in the Introduction, were often pressed into service and, as such, became a potential mob of unruly civilians that required discipline and order. The law that drew them into service was of questionable legitimacy, and although challenged in relation to the Stuart expeditions of the 1620s it did not feature in the Petition of Right of 1628. That law also governed their actions and was ambiguous and largely

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<sup>30</sup> J.X. Evans, ed., *The Works of Sir Roger Williams* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p.156. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: Sir Roger Williams.

ineffective, and attitudes towards it from the gentry changed as the Elizabethan period of national self-preservation evolved as the threat ebbed into one of concern over monarchical tyranny. Martial law then was generally seen as the Army's way of maintaining discipline while abroad, or during a domestic emergency, when engaging the enemy (the 'Rules of War' are discussed in Chapter Four and military regulations are listed at Appendix 4). While in England during peacetime soldiers were subject to common, not martial law (although desertion was a crime under common law), but which law was applicable was not always entirely clear. Due to the very real prospect of foreign invasion during the 1580s and 1590s it appears that martial law was applied in a much broader context when compared with the 1620s, when the King's expeditions were deeply unpopular and the idea of martial law in England met with strong opposition.<sup>31</sup> The soldiers' accounts rarely refer to published legal texts, and their understanding of what was right and wrong tended to be embedded in their concept of what was and what was not honourable.

This thesis has shown that the view of warfare presented by historians, notably Sir John Hale, Paul Hammer, David Trim and Roger Manning can be substantially supported and upheld through more detailed evidence provided by the soldiers themselves, and that much of that evidence could be viewed by the reading public of the time. The thesis has also crafted for the first time clear definitions of soldiers' categories, again drawn from contemporary sixteenth- and seventeenth-century terminology through the printed works of soldiers. In sum, those collective works reflect the growing professionalism that resulted from protracted warfare, and the interest that warfare generated with the reading public. Historians have discussed the relationship between war and the development of the nation state, and the evidence of the participants in warfare through their published material is a major contribution to a deeper understanding of the issues that influenced change in a volatile world.

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<sup>31</sup> Stephen J. Stearns, 'Military Disorder and Martial Law', in Buchanan Sharp and Mark Charles Fissel, eds., *Law and Authority in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), pp. 117-135. There is considerable reference material on the issue of common and martial law in notes 75 through to 109, which include the primary source works of Francis Markham and Matthew Sutcliffe. Mark Charles Fissel also looked at the legal aspects of war: *English Warfare 1511-1642* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp.111; 150; 281.

## Notes to Appendices

The tables at Appendices 1, 2 and 3 take as their base Cockle's Bibliography,<sup>1</sup> and Webb's list.<sup>2</sup> However, they also include other works omitted from both.<sup>3</sup> Appendix 1 shows, alphabetically, those works produced in English by known or unknown authors. The list of anonymous authors, the first 46 serials, has been entered chronologically. Appendix 2 shows publications in chronological order from an author's first work, translated out of another language, possibly but not always the original. The works have been produced by known or unknown foreign authors, and translated by known or unknown English translators. Appendix 3 is a chronological list showing orders, in the form of proclamations, laws, ordinances and instructions given by a stated level of authority. Appendix 4 lists news pamphlets concerning European warfare published mainly, but not exclusively by Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne during the period 1622 – 1640. It is not exhaustive and further work will be necessary to produce the full list. Except for those mentioned in the accompanying notes to *The Swedish Discipline* (London, 1632),<sup>4</sup> shown in Serial 144 of Appendix 1, Cockle did not include these news reports in his Bibliography.

The first three appendices are broken down by type of author: firstly, private English language, secondly, private or historical foreign and, thirdly, declarations of authority from or on behalf of the state. The subject matter of titles within Appendices 1 and 2 can be further broken down: news or reports of incidents prior to the *corantos* of the seventeenth century (for example Appendix 1 Serials 4 - 8; 15 - 18; 23; 28); informative, instructional or drill manuals (Appendix 1 Serials 34; 36; 47; Appendix 2 Serial 49); religious treatises (Appendix 1 Serials 56; 57; 98); contemporary debate (Appendix 1 Serials 55; 131); the art of horse riding (Appendix 1 Serial 59; Appendix 2 Serial 16); duelling (Appendix 1 Serial 128; Appendix 2 Serial 29); fencing (Appendix 1 Serials 89; 129; 136; Appendix 2 Serial 34); historical narrative (Appendix 1 Serial 24; Appendix 2 Serial 36); the art of gunnery

<sup>1</sup> Maurice J.D. Cockle, *A Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642 and of Contemporary Foreign Works* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1900).

<sup>2</sup> Henry J. Webb, 'English Military Books, Laws, and Proclamations Published from 1513 to 1610', *Philological Quarterly*, 23 (1944), pp.116-128.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix 1: Serials 13.2; 15; 23.2; 27; 28; 29; 30; 35; 37; 38; 39; 40; 42; 48; 61; 62; 63; 64.1,4; 79; 92.1 to 92.6; 101; 108; 111; 117; 121 (manuscript until 1908); 123 (manuscript until 1917); 126; 138; 140.2 (manuscript until 1829); 142; 146.2; 147. Appendix 2: Serials 2; 17; 26; 39; 42; 46; 47; 48; 52; 60. Appendix 3: Serials 4; 16; 22.

<sup>4</sup> Cockle, entry 125, p.90.



(Appendix 1 Serials 114; 125; 130; Appendix 2 Serial 20); and mathematics (Appendix 1 Serials 71; 73). The four medical treatises included in Appendix 1 do not purely focus on battle wounds. George Baker (Serial 51) did not, to my knowledge, serve in an army, although his treatise does include the treatment of arquebus shot wounds. William Clowes (Serial 66) was at Le Havre and deployed with Leicester in 1586 so he had experience of the advice he published. Thomas Gale (Serial 80) had experience with the army of Henry VIII and also covers the treatment of gunshot wounds. John Woodall (Serial 149) was with Willoughby in France and his treatise was written specifically with the army in mind.<sup>5</sup> To have produced appendices for each category would have created a fragmented picture of the whole, and some titles are difficult to categorise or fall within more than one category. For instance *The Mansion of Magnanimitie* (Appendix 1 Serial 25) is an 'encouragement' for loyalty to the monarch and was published (and possibly written) by a lawyer, contains passages on the history of England (Holinshead; Camden), quotes from the ancients (Virgil; Seneca; Cicero), and has anti-Catholic biblical content, while only some passages are militarily relevant to the period (the 'cruelty' of the Spanish in the Low Countries, laws to which officers and soldiers should be subjected and advice on what horses and equipment subjects of a certain status should maintain). Some works could be placed in an alternative appendix, for instance Sir Clement Edmondes translated parts of Caesar's *Commentaries* but added so much of his own comment that I have placed his work in Appendix 1 not Appendix 2. Likewise Peter Whitehorne included pages of translation from Zanchi but this forms only part of his work therefore he also is included in Appendix 1.<sup>6</sup> Appendix 2 is restricted to those works that are clearly advertised as translations without embellishment from the translator. The practice of incorporating the work of others and whether or not this constituted plagiarism is discussed in Chapter Two above.

As this thesis is concerned with land warfare,<sup>7</sup> the appendices show English language military works only; naval works are not included unless they contain a land component, such as Anthony Wingfield's *Discourse* (Appendix 1 Serial 147). The works of soldiers on other

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<sup>5</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: Baker, Clowes, Gale and Woodall.

<sup>6</sup> Martin Biddle, 'Introduction' to Paul Ive, *The Practice of Fortification: London, 1589* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1972), p.iii. W.H. Schukking, ed., *The Principal Works of Simon Stevin, Volume IV: The Art of War* (Amsterdam, C.V. Swets & Zeitlinger, 1964), p.36, n24.

<sup>7</sup> Notwithstanding J.S. Corbett's comment that 'it is doubtful whether the naval and the military history of England should ever be written apart'; *The Successors of Drake* (London: Longmans Green, 1900), p.vii.

subject matter are not included; for instance, Barnaby Rich's *Farewell to Militarie Profession* (London, 1574) is not included, as it does not, despite its title, contain information on early-modern warfare. Published sermons that preach on subjects to do with warfare are not included either, and where they are used in the text of the thesis they are shown in the Bibliography, but the religious treatises that were listed by Cockle and Webb are included as to leave them out would create unnecessary gaps between these appendices and the Cockle/Webb lists.<sup>8</sup>

Works are published in London unless specified elsewhere. Works printed abroad are assumed to have circulated in Britain for the British market as well as among British soldiers serving in continental Europe, as they were printed in English and few continental Europeans could speak or read English.

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<sup>8</sup> Appendix 1 Serials 56; 57; 98.

Appendix 1: Military publications by alphabetical list of military authors

Serial No. (a)	Author (b)	Primary/ Secondary Occupation (c)	Cockle/ Webb Entry No (d)	Title (e)	Published (f)
1	Anonymous	Unknown	2/83	<i>Heere foloweth the ordre or Trayne of Warre, that a Prynce, or a heed Captayne, ought to take, that wyll Conquere, or assege a place, or kepe or defende a place, where he dowlth to be assayled in his owne countree, or to marche or travers the countree of his enemyes.</i>	1525-30?
2	Anonymous	Unknown	7/96	<i>The late expedition in Scotlande, made by the Kynge's hyghnys armye, under the conduit of the ryght honorable the Erle of Hertforde.</i>	1544
3	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entry/20	<i>A brief Rehersall of the accorde and agreement, that the Captaynes, Burgises, and Armie of Middleborow and Armev: have made.</i>	1574
4	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entry/26	<i>Certayne newes of the whole description, ayde, and helpe of the Christian princes and nobles now with the armies in the field.</i>	Dordrecht, 1574

5	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entry/48	<i>A discourse of the present state of the Wars in the lowe Countries.</i>	1578
6	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entry/180	<i>The true reports of the skirmish betwene the states of Flaunders, and Don Joan.</i>	1578?
7	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entry/143	<i>A report of an assault against Mastricht.</i>	1579
8	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entry/117	<i>Newe newes containning a shorte rehearsall of the late enterprise of certaine fugitive rebelles.</i>	1579
9	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entry/112	<i>The miserie of Antwerpe... Herein is also described the maner of bridge and fortresses.</i>	1585
10	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entry/121	<i>An oration militarie to all naturall Englishmen.</i>	1588
11	Anonymous	Unknown	40/108	<i>The martiall shewes of horsemen before her majestie at Saint James.</i>	1588
12	Anonymous	Unknown	43/132	<i>Policies of War Collected out of sundry Authors.</i>	1589
13	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entry/89	<i>1. A Journal, or brief report of the late service in Britaigne, by the Prince de Dombes generall of the French Kings army in those partes assisted with her Majesties forces at this present there, under the conduct of Sir John Norreis.</i>	1591
			No Entries	<i>2. Newes Sent Out of Britaine and other Places on the third of June.</i>	1591

14	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entry/38	<i>The description of the armye levied this presente yere by the princes of Germanye for Fraunce.</i>	1591
15	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entries	<i>The overthrow of the most part of the Prince of Parma his forces, both horse and foote Performed on the twelfth and fifteenth of July last, by the Grave Maurice his excellencie, generall of the armies in the lowe countries.</i>	1591
16	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entry/133  No Entry/127	1. <i>The politique takinge of Zutphen skonce, the winning of the towne, and beleaguring of Deventer With the honorable enterprise of Sir Roger Williams Knight, lying at Cinque Saunce, nine leagues from Deepe.</i> 2. <i>A particuler of the yeildinge up of the towne of Zutphen.</i>	1591  1591
17	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entry/179	<i>The true report of the service in Brittany. Performed by Sir John Norris and other captains and gentlemen before Guingcamp.</i>	1591
18	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entry/46	<i>A discourse of the great overthrow given by the French king.</i>	1592
19	Anonymous	Unknown	58/169	<i>A survey of the new pretended Discipline.</i>	1593
20	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entry/114	<i>A myrrour for English souldiers: or, An anotomy [sic] of an accomplished man at armes.</i>	1595
21	Anonymous	Unknown	64/107	<i>Mars His Feild or The Exercise of Armes.</i>	1591?

22	<b>Anonymous</b>	Unknown	62/1	<i>The absolute souldier or pollicie of armes.</i>	1595
23	<b>Anonymous</b>	Unknown	No Entry/47 No Entries	1. <i>A discourse more at large of the late overthrowe given to the King of Spaines armie at Turnehaut.</i> 2. <i>A True Discourse of the overthrowe given to the common enemy at Turnhout.</i>	1597 1597
24	<b>Anonymous</b>	Unknown	No Entry/19	<i>A Briefe Cronicle, and perfect rehearsall of all the memorable actions hapned not onelie in the low-Countries, but also in Germanie, Italy, Fraunce, Spaine, England, Turkie, and other Countries since the yeare of our Lord 1500 to this present yeare.</i>	1598
25	<b>Anonymous</b>	Unknown	70/106	<i>The Mansion of Magnanimitie. Where-unto is also adjoynd a collection of diuers lawes and statutes meete to be knowne of all men: with a brief table, shewing, what munition ought to be kept by all sorts of her majesties subjects, for the defence of her highnesse realmes and dominions.</i>	1599
26	<b>Anonymous</b>	Unknown	No Entry/129	<i>A placarde or statute concerning the musters.</i>	1599?
27	<b>Anonymous</b>	Unknown	No Entries	<i>The battaile fought betweene Count Maurice of Nassaw, and Albertus Arch-duke of Austria, nere Newport in Flaunders, the xxij. of June 1600 with the names of such men of account as have beene either slaine, hurt, or taken prisoners by either part. Written by a gentleman imployed in the said service.</i>	1600

28	<b>Anonymous</b>	Unknown	No Entries	<i>Further newes from Ostend Wherein is declared such accidnets [sic] as have happened since the former edition, dilligently collected out of sundry letters and advertisments, as have beene from Zeland, Callice, and other places latley received.</i>	1601
29	<b>Anonymous</b>	Unknown	No Entries	<i>A Breefe Declaration Of that which happened aswell within as without Oastend sithence the vij. of Januarie 1602.</i>	1602
30	<b>Anonymous</b>	Unknown	No Entries	<i>Extremities urging the Lord Generall Sir Fra: Veare to the anti-parle with the Archduke Albertus.</i>	1602
31	<b>Anonymous</b>	Soldier?	No Entry/178	<i>A True Report of the Great overthrowe lately given unto the Spaniards in their resolute assault of Bergen Op Zoam, in the Lowe Countries.</i>	1605
32	<b>Anonymous</b>	Unknown	No Entry/126	<i>Over-throw of an Irish rebell, in a late battaile: or The death of Sir Carey Adoughertie who murdered Sir George Paulet in Ireland; and for his rebellion hath his head now standing over Newgate in Dublin.</i>	1608
33	<b>Anonymous</b>	Unknown	87/NA	<i>Orders established and agreed unto by the societye of Armes Citizens of London.</i>	1616
34	<b>Anonymous</b>	Unknown	97/NA	<i>The Military Discipline wherein is Martially shone the order of drilling for Musket and Pike.</i>	1623
35	<b>Anonymous</b>	Unknown	No Entries	<i>A continued journall of all the proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham his Grace in the Ile of Ree.</i>	1627
36	<b>Anonymous</b>	Unknown	117/NA	<i>A New Invention Of Shooting Fire-Shafts in Long-Bowes.</i>	1628

37	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entries	<i>The exact and true relation of that bloody battell fought betweene His royall Majestie of Sweithland, and the Imperial Army the 5 and 6. of November 1632. In the which battell his Majestie was killed. Bedsidēs Luelzen, two Germaine myles from Leipseich.</i>	Edinburgh, 1633
38	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entries	<i>The great and famous battel of Lutzen fought betweene the renowned King of Sweden, and Walstein.</i>	1633
39	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entries	<i>Directions for Musters.</i>	Cambridge, 1638
40	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entries	<i>The Invasions of Germanie, With all the Civill and bloody Warres therein.</i>	1638
41	Anonymous	Unknown	151/NA	<i>The Exercise of the English, in the Militia of the Kingdome of England.</i>	1641 (1642?)
42	Anonymous	Unknown	No Entries	<i>A true and perfect relation of a great and bloudy battell fought the 23. of October old stile (being the same day, upon which was fought the Battell betwixt the King and the Lord Generall Earle of Essex neare Kinton) betwixt the Emperours army under the command of his brother Arch-Duke Leopold William and Generall Piccolomini on one side, and the Swedish army under the command of Generall Torstensohn on the other side.</i>	1642
43	Anonymous	Unknown	152/NA	<i>The exercise of yong artillery men; or the militia of the Kingdome in its posture of warre.</i>	1642
44	Anonymous	Unknown	157/NA	<i>Englands Safety In Navie And Fortifications; The common Interest both of King and People.</i>	1642



45	Anonymous	Unknown	159/NA	<i>A True Description Of The Discipline Of War Both for Horse and Foot, used in His Majesties Army, under their Excellencies William Earle of New-Castle, and Prince Robert.</i>	1642
46	Anonymous	Unknown	162/NA	<i>Militia Old and New. One thousand six hundred forty two. Read All Or None; And Then Censure.</i>	1642
47	Achesone, James	Militia?/ Burgess	120/NA	<i>The Military Garden. Or Instructions For All Young Souldiers, And Such Who Are Disposed to Learn, And Have Knowledge Of The Military Discipline.</i>	Edinburgh, 1629
48	Aleyn, Charles	Poet	No Entries	1. <i>The battailles of Crescy and Poitiers under the fortunes and valour of King Edward the third.</i> 2. <i>The historie of that wise and fortunate prince, Henrie...with that famed battaile...Bosworth.</i>	1631, 1633 1638
49	Ascham, Roger	Author/ Royal Tutor	9/5, 6, 7	<i>Toxophilus, The Schole of shootinge conteyned in two bookes.</i>	1545, 1571, 1589 (1761, 1815, 1856, 1869, Wrexham 1788, 1821)
50	Babington, John	Soldier (Gunner)/ Mathematician	131/NA	<i>Pyrotechnia. Or, A Discourse Of Artificiall Fire-Works.</i>	1635

51	<b>Baker, George</b>	Surgeon	20/8	<i>The Composition or making of the moste excellent and pretious Oil called Oleum Magistrale.</i>	1574
52	<b>Barret, Robert</b>	Soldier/ Poet (Unpublished manuscript)	68/9	<i>The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres.</i>	1598
53	<b>Barriffe, William</b>	Militia/ Soldier (Civil War)	133/NA	1. <i>Military Discipline: Or The Yong Artillerman.</i> 2. <i>Mars, his triumph.</i>	1635, 1639, (1643, 1648, 1657, 1661, 1669) 1639
54	<b>Barry, Gerat</b>	Soldier	130/NA	<i>A Discourse of Military Discipline, Devided Into Three Bookes.</i>	Brussels, 1634
55	<b>Barwick, Humfrey</b>	Soldier	59/10	<i>A Breefe Discourse, Concerning the force and effect of all martial weapons of fire.</i>	1592
56	<b>Becon, Thomas</b> (Basil, Theodore)	Clergyman	5/11 5/12, 13	1. <i>The new pollecye of warre.</i> 2. <i>The true defence of peace.</i>	1542 1542(43?)
57	<b>Bernard, Richard</b>	Clergyman	119/NA	<i>The Bible-Battells Or The Sacred Art Military. For the rightly wageing of warre according to Holy Writ.</i>	1629
58	<b>Blandy, William</b>	Translator/ Soldier	27/14	<i>The Castle, or picture of policy.</i>	1581

59	Blundeville, Thomas	Author/ Translator	11/15, 16	<i>A newe booke, containing the arte of ryding.</i>	1560? 1597
60	Bourne, William	Mathematician/ Soldier (Militia) (Gunner)	24/17 35/18	1. <i>Inventions or devises.</i> 2. <i>The Arte of shooting in great Ordnance.</i>	1578 1587
61	Brinkmair, L.	Soldier?	No Entries	<i>The Warnings of Germany.</i>	1638
62	Camden, William	Historian/ Herald	No Entries  No Entries	1. <i>Annales the true and royall history of the famous emperesse Elizabeth Queene of England France and Ireland &amp;c. True faith's defendresse of diuine renowne and happy memory. Wherein all such memorable things as happened during hir blessed raigne ... are exactly described.</i> 2. <i>The historie of the life and reigne of that famous princesse Elizabeth containing a briefe memoriall of the chieftest affaires of state that haue passed in these kingdomes of England, Scotland, France or Ireland since the yeare of the fatall Spanish invasion to that of her sad and ever to be deplored dissolution.</i>	1625  1634
63	Cecil, Edward (Viscount Wimbleton)	Soldier	No Entries	<i>A Journall, and relation of the action, which by his Maiesties commandement Edward Lord Cecyl, Baron of Putney, and Vicount of Wimbleton, Admirall, and Lieutenant Generall of his Maiestyes forces, did undertake upon the coast of Spaine, 1625.</i>	1626

64	Churchyard, Thomas	Poet/ Soldier	No Entries  No Entry/27 No Entry/28 No Entries	1. <i>A Lamentable, and pitifull Description, of the wofull warres in Flaunders.</i> 2. <i>A general rehearsall of warres.</i> 3. <i>A pleasant discourse of court and wars.</i> 4. <i>A True Discourse Historicall, Of The Succeeding Governors In The Netherlands, And The Civill warres there begun in the yeere 1565.</i>	1578  1579 1596 1602
65	Clayton, Gyles	Soldier	51/29  No Entry/30	1. <i>The Approoved order of Martiall discipline, with every particuler Officer his offyce and duitie.</i> 2. <i>A briefe discourse of martial discipline.</i>	1591  Middelburg, 1587
66	Clowes, William	Surgeon	56/31	<i>A prooved practice for all young chirurgians.</i>	1588, 1591, 1596, 1637
67	Cloyet, Anthony	Unknown	No Entry/34	<i>The true history of the civil wars of France.</i>	1591
68	Cooke, Edward	Unknown	107/NA  116/NA	1. <i>The Character of Warre, Or The Image of Martiall Discipline: containning many usefull directions for Musters.</i> 2. <i>The prospective glasse of warre Shewing you a glimpses of warres mystery, in her admirable stratagems, policies, wayes; in victualling of an armie, providing money to pay souldiers, finding out the enemies purposes, traps, and stratagems.</i>	1626  1628
69	Cruso, John	Poet/ Author/Militia	124/NA 155/NA	1. <i>Militarie Instructions for the Cavallerie.</i> 2. <i>Castrametation, Or The Measuring Out Of The Quarters For The Encamping of an Army.</i>	Cambridge, 1632 Cambridge, 1632

70	<b>Dallington, Sir Robert</b>	Prince Henry's Household	84/NA	<i>Aphorismes Civill And Militarie.</i>	1613, 1624
71	<b>Dansie, John</b>	Unknown	112/NA	<i>A Mathematicall Manuel: Wherein Is handled Arithmeticke, planimetry, stereometry, and the embattelling of armies.</i>	1627
72	<b>Davies, Edward</b>	Unknown	92/NA	<i>Military directions: or the art of trayning.</i>	1618, 1619, 1622
73	<b>Digges, Thomas</b>	Mathematician/ Politician/ Military Engineer/ Master-Master/ Historian	No Entry/45  16/43, 44 25/39, 40  No Entry/51  No Entry/50  No Entry/41 77/42	1. <i>Letter to the Earl of Leicester, with a platt of military ordnance for the army he is to conduct into the Low Countries.</i> 2. <i>A Geometrical Practise, named Pantometria.</i> 3. <i>An Arithmeticall Militaire Treatise, named Stratioicos.</i> 4. <i>A briefe report of the militarie services done in the Low Countries by the erle of Leicestyer.</i> 5. <i>A briefe and true report of the proceedings of the Earle of Leycester for the reliefe of Sluce.</i> 6. <i>Englands defence (1588).</i> 7. <i>Foure Paradoxes, or politique Discourses.</i>	No date  1571, 1591 1579, 1590, 1594  1587  1590  (1680) 1604
74	<b>Drury, Sir William</b>	Soldier/ Lord Justice of Ireland	18/49	<i>Regulations to be observed by the English army marching to besiege Edinburgh Castle</i>	Edinburgh, 1573
75	<b>Edmondson, Sir Clement</b>	Government Official/ Military Commentator	71/57, 58, 59, 60, 61  72/56	1. <i>Observations, upon the five first bookes of Caesars Commentaries, setting fourth the practise of the art military, in the time of the Roman Empire.</i> 2. <i>The Maner of Our Moderne Training, Or Tacticke practise.</i>	1600, 1604, 1609  1600, 1604, 1609

76	<b>E., J.(I.?)</b>	Soldier	No Entry/55	<i>A Letter from a Souldier of good place in Ireland, to his friend in London, touching the notable Victorie of her Majesties Forces there, against the Spaniards and Irish Rebels: And the yeelding up of Kynsale, and other places there held by the Spanyards.</i>	1602
77	<b>Fenne, Thomas</b>	Unknown	No Entry/67	<i>Fennes frutes which work is divided into three several parts; the first, a dialogue betweene fame and the scholler...The second, intreateth of the lamentable ruines which attend on warre...The third, that it is not requisite to derive our pedegree from the unfaithfull Tojans, who were chiefe causes of their owne destruction.</i>	1590
78	<b>Fisher, Thomas</b>	Soldier	126/NA	<i>Warlike Directions or the Souldiers practice.</i>	1634, (1643, 1644)
79	<b>Forbes, John</b>	Soldier	No Entries	<i>A Letter sent from Sarjent Major Forbes from the King of Swethens army to his reverend father Mr. John Forbes.</i>	Amsterdam, 1631
80	<b>Gale, Thomas</b>	Surgeon	15/71, 72	<i>Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie newly compiled.</i>	1563, 1586
81	<b>Garrard, William</b>	Soldier	54/73	<i>The Arte of Warre.</i>	1591
82	<b>Gascoigne, George</b>	Author/ Soldier	No Entry/74	<i>The Spoyle of Antwerp.</i>	1576
83	<b>Gates, Geffrey</b>	Soldier	26/75	<i>The Defence of Militarie profession.</i>	1579

84	Gibbon, Charles	Author	No Entry/70	<i>A Watch-worde for Warre. Not so new as necessary: Published by reason of the disperced rumors amongst us, and the suspected comming of the Spanyards against us.</i>	Cambridge, 1596
85	Gilbert, Sir Humphrey	Soldier	No Entry/77	<i>Queene Elizabethes achademy.</i>	(1869)
86	Grimeston, Edward	Scholar/ Sergeant-at-Arms	No Entry/81 80/79, 80	1. <i>A true historie of the memorable siege of Ostend.</i> 2. <i>A Generall Historie Of The Netherlands.</i>	1604 1608, 1609, 1627
87	Gunter, Edmund	Mathematician/ Rector	134/NA	<i>The Description and use of the Sector Crosse-staffe</i>	1624, 1636, (1653, 1662, 1673)
88	G., W.	Unknown	102/NA	<i>Count Mansfields Directions of warre. Given To All His Officers and Souldiers in Generall.</i>	1624
89	Hale, George	Unknown	85/NA	<i>The Private Schoole of Defence.</i>	1614
90	Harwood, Sir Edward	Soldier	153/NA	<i>The Advice Of That Worthy Commander, Sir Ed: Harwood, Collonel.</i>	1642
91	Hitchcock, Robert	Soldier	55/84	<i>A generall proportion and order of provision, for a yeere of three hundred, three-score and five dayes, to victuall a Garrison of one thousande Souldtiours. (Added to Garrard's 'Art of Warre'.)</i>	1591

92	Hexham, Henry	Soldier/ Author/ Translator	No Entries	<p>1. <i>A Tongue-Combat, Lately Happening Between two English Souldiers in the Tilt-boat of Gravesend, The One Going To Serve the King of Spaine, the other to serve the States Generall of the United Provinces.</i></p> <p>2. <i>A True Souldiers Councel: An Experimentall Discovery Of Spanish Practice.</i></p> <p>3. <i>A Historicall Relation Of the Famous Siege of the Busse, And the surprising of Wesell.</i></p> <p>4. <i>A Journall, Of the taking in of Venlo, Roermont, Sirale, the memorable Seige of Mastricht, the Towne &amp; Castle of Limburch.</i></p> <p>5. <i>A True And Briefe Relation Of The Famous Seige Of Breda.</i></p> <p>6. <i>A True And Briefe Relation Of The Bloody Battel Of Nieuport in Flanders.</i></p> <p>7. <i>The Principles Of The Art Militarie; Practised in the Warres of the United Netherlands.</i></p> <p>8. <i>An Appendix, Of the Quarter for the ransoming of Officers of all Qualities, and Souldiers, concluded between the King of of [sic] Spayne his side, and the side of the States Generail, of the United Netherlands.</i></p> <p>9. <i>The Second Part Of The Principles Of The Art Military, Practised In the Warres of the United Provinces.</i></p> <p>10. <i>The Third Part Of The Principles Of The Art Military. Practised in The Warres Of The United Provinces Under the Lords the States Generall.</i></p>	<p>1623</p> <p>1624</p> <p>Delft, 1630</p> <p>Delft, 1633</p> <p>Delft, 1637</p> <p>Delft, 1641</p> <p>1637, 1642</p> <p>1637 (1643)</p> <p>1642</p> <p>(1643)</p>
93	L., B. (R., B.?)	Unknown	No Entry/115	A mirroure to all that love to followe the warres.	1589



94	Ive, Paul	Soldier/ Engineer	42/86, 87	<i>The Practise of Fortification.</i>	1589, 1597
95	Johnson, Fabian	Unknown	No Entry/98	<i>True intelligence sent from a gentleman of account Concerning, the estate of the English forces now in Fraunce.</i>	1591
96	Kellie, Sir Thomas	Soldier	113/NA	<i>Pallas Armata, or, Militarie Instructions for the Learned.</i>	1627
97	Knyvet, Sir Henry	Soldier/ MP	No Entry/91	<i>The defence of the realme, 1596.</i>	1906
98	Leighton, Alexander	Puritan Author	101/NA	<i>Speculum Belli sacri: Or The Looking-Glasse Of Holy War.</i>	1624
99	Leslie, David	Soldier	160/NA	<i>Generall Lessley's Direction And Order For the exercising of Horse and Foot.</i>	1642
100	Lingham, John	Unknown	31/99	<i>A true Relation of all English Captains and Lieutenants as have been slain in the Low Countries, together with those now living: as also of such as are fled to the enemy.</i>	1584
101	Lithgow, William	Traveller/ Poet	No Entries	<i>A True and Experimental Discourse upon the beginning, proceeding and Victorious event of this last siege Of Breda.</i>	1637

102	Lloyd, Lodowick	Author/Courtier /Sergeant-at-Arms	76/100	<i>The Stratagems of Jerusalem: With the martiall lawes and militarie discipline, as well as of the lewes, as of the Gentiles.</i>	1602
103	Lucar, Cyprian	Author	38, 39/171	<i>A Treatise Named Lucar Appendix.</i>	1588
104	Lupton, Donald	Clergyman (Mil Chaplain)/ Author	156/NA	<i>A Warre-like Treatise Of The Pike.</i>	1642
105	Marcelline, George	Unknown	105/NA	<i>Vox Miliitiis: Foresheewing What Perils Are Procured Where The people of this, or any other kingdome Hue without regard of Marshall discipline.</i>	1625
106	Markham, Francis	Soldier	96/NA	<i>Five Decades Of Epistles Of Warre.</i>	1622
107	Markham, Gervase	Poet/ Author/ Soldier	104/NA 108/NA 109/NA 128/NA	1. <i>The Souldiers Accidence. Or An Introduction Into Military Discipline.</i> 2. <i>The Souldiers Grammar: Containing, The High, Necessarie, and most Curious Rules of the Art Militarie.</i> 3. <i>The Second Part Of The Soldiers Grammar: Or, A Schoole For Young Soldiers.</i> 4. <i>The Art Of Archerie.</i>	1625, 1635 1626 (1643) 1627, (1643) 1634
108	Markham, Robert	Soldier	No Entries	<i>The Description, Of That Ever To Be Famed Knight, Sir John Burgh, Colonell Generall of his Majesties Armie.</i>	1628
109	Melzo, Lewis (Ludovico)	Unknown	122/NA	<i>Military Rules.</i>	1632

110	<b>Monro, Robert</b>	Soldier	138/NA	<i>Monro His Expedition With The Worthy Scots Regiment (called Mac-Keyes Regiment) levied in August 1626.</i>	1637 (1644)
111	<b>Morison, Sir Richard</b>	Diplomat/ MP	No Entries	<i>An Exhortation To styrre all Englyshe men to the defence of theyr countreye.</i>	1539
112	<b>M., R.</b>	Unknown	158/NA	<i>A Compleat Schole of Warre: or, A direct way for the Ordering and Exercising of a Foot Company.</i>	1642
113	<b>Neade, William</b>	Archery Instructor	106/NA	<i>The Double-armed Man, By the New Invention: Briefly shewing some famous Exploits atchieved by our British Bowmen.</i>	1625
114	<b>Norton, Robert</b>	Soldier (Gunner)/ Author/ Mathematician	100/NA 114/NA No Entries	1. <i>Of The Art Of Great Artillery.</i> 2. <i>The Gunner Shewing The Whole Practise Of Artillerie.</i> 3. <i>The Gunners Dialogue. With The Art Of Great Artillery.</i>	1624 1628 (1643)
115	<b>Norwood, Richard</b>	Mathematician/ Soldier	145/NA	<i>Fortification Or Architecture Military.</i>	1639
116	<b>Nun, Thomas</b>	Unknown	No Entry/118	<i>A comfort against the Spanyard.</i>	1596
117	<b>Parker, Henry</b>	Political writer	No Entries	<i>The Manifold Miseries of Civill Warre and Discord in a Kingdom.</i>	1642
118	<b>Patten, Sir William</b>	Judge	10/128	<i>The expedition to Scotlande of the most woorthely fortunate prince Edward, Duke of Soomerset.</i>	1548

119	<b>Peacham, Henry</b>	Author/ Illustrator/ Schoolmaster	128/NA	<i>The Compleat Gentleman.</i>	1634
120	<b>Polman, John</b>	Unknown	21/130  34/131	<p>1. <i>All the famous Battels that have beene fought in our age throughout the worlde, as well by sea as lande, set forth at large lively described, beautified and enriched with sundry eloquent Orations and the declarations of the causes, with the fruites of them. Collected out of sundry good Authors.</i></p> <p>2. <i>The Second part of the booke of Battailes, fought in our age: taken out of the best authors and writers in sundrie languages. Published for the profit of those that praise armes, and for the pleasure of such as love to be harmlesse hearers of bloudie broiles.</i></p>	1577  1587
121	<b>Poyntz, Sydenham</b>	Soldier	No Entries	<i>The Relation of Sydenham Poyntz.</i>	(1908)
122	<b>Procter, Thomas</b>	Not known	23/142	<i>Of the knowledge and conduct of warres.</i>	1578
123	<b>Raymond, Thomas</b>	Diplomat/ Soldier	No Entries	<i>Autobiography of Thomas Raymond and the Memoirs of the Family of Guise of Elmore, Gloucestershire.</i>	(1917)

124	<b>Rich, Barnaby</b>	Soldier/ Author	No Entry/150 22/144, 145  36/149  No Entry/148 78/147  No Entry/151 No Entry/146	<p>1. <i>A right exelent and pleasaunt Dialogue, betwene Mercury And An English Souldier.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Allarme to England, foreshewing what perilles are procured, where the people live without regarde of Martiall lawe.</i></p> <p>3. <i>A Pathway to Military practise. Containinge Offices, Lawes, Disciplines and orders to be observed in an Army.</i></p> <p>4. <i>A martiall conference.</i></p> <p>5. <i>The Fruits of long Experience. A pleasing view for Peace.</i></p> <p>6. <i>A souldiers wishe to Britons welfare.</i></p> <p>7. <i>Faults faults, and nothing else but faultes.</i></p>	1574 1578  1587  1598 1604  1604 1606
125	<b>Roberts, John</b>	Soldier (Militia?)/ (Gunner)	141/NA 140/NA	<p>1. <i>Great Yarmouths Exercise.</i></p> <p>2. <i>The Compleat Cannoniere: Or, The Gunners Guide.</i></p>	1638 (1645) 1639
126	<b>Russell, John</b>	Academic?	No Entries	<i>The two famous pict battels of Lypsich, and Lutzen wherein the ever-renowned Prince Gustavus the Great lived and died a conqueror.</i>	Cambridge, 1634
127	<b>Segar, Sir William</b>	Herald/ Scrivener	49/113 75/156	<p>1. <i>The Booke of Honor and armes.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Honor Military, and Civill, contained in foure Bookes.</i></p>	1590 1602
128	<b>Selden, John</b>	Unknown	81/157	<i>The Duello Or Single Combat.</i>	1610

129	Silver, George	Swordsman	69/159	<i>Paradoxes of Defence, wherein is proved the true grounds of Fight to be in the short aunient weapons, and that the short Sword hath advantage of the long Sword or long Rapier.</i>	1599
130	Smith, Thomas	Soldier (Militia?)/ (Gunner)	73/160 74/NA	1. <i>The Art of Gunnery.</i> 2. <i>Certain Additions to the Booke of Gunnery, with a supply of Fire-works.</i>	1600, 1628, (1643) 1627
131	Smythe, Sir John	Soldier/ Diplomat	46/161, 162 60/163	1. <i>Certain Discourses: Concerning the formes and effects of divers sorts of weapons, and other verie important matters Militarie.</i> 2. <i>Instructions, Observations, and Orders Mylitarie.</i>	1590 1595
132	S., R.	Unknown	66/153	<i>A Briefe Treatise, To proove the necesitie and excellence of the use of archerie.</i>	1596
133	Strachey, William	Poet/ Historian of Virginia	82/NA	<i>For The Colony in Virginea Britannia. Lawes Divine, Moral and Martiall.</i>	1612
134	Styward, Thomas	Soldier (Militia?)	28/166, 167, 168	<i>The Pathwaie To Martiall Discipline, devided into two Bookes.</i>	1581, 1582, 1585
135	Sutcliffe, Dr. Matthew	Clergyman/ Author/ Soldier	57/170	<i>The Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of armes, described out of the doings of most valiant and expert Capitaines, and confirmed both by ancient, and moderne examples, and precedents.</i>	1593

136	Swetnam, Joseph	Pamphleteer/ Swordsmen/ Soldier	91/NA	<i>The Schole of the Noble and Worthie Science of Defence.</i>	1617
137	T., J	Unknown	86/NA	<i>The A.B.C. of Armes, Or, An Introduction Directorie; whereby the order of Militarie exercises may easily be understood.</i>	1616
138	Tourneur, Cyril	Poet	No Entries	<i>A funerall poeme. Upon the death of the most worthe and true souldier; Sir Francis Vere.</i>	1609
139	Trussell, Thomas	Soldier	95/NA	<i>The Souldier Pleading his owne Cause. Furnished with Argument to Encourage, and Skill to Instruct.</i>	1619, 1626
140	Turner, Sir James	Soldier	(113)/NA No Entries	1. <i>Pallas Armata: Military Essayes of the Ancient Grecian, roman and Modern Art of War.</i> 2. <i>Memoirs of his own life and times.</i>	(1683) (Edinburgh, 1829)
141	Vere, Sir Francis	Soldier	166/184	<i>The Commentaries.</i>	(Cambridge, 1657)
142	Vincent, Philip	Traveller/ Author	No Entries	<i>The Lamentations of Germany.</i>	1638
143	Ward, Robert	Soldier	147/NA	<i>Animadversions Of Warre.</i>	1639
144	Watts, Dr. William	Military Chaplain	125/NA	<i>The Swedish Discipline/The Swedish Intelligencer.</i> (Fifteen pamphlets relating to the wars in Germany. Author could possibly have been Sir Thomas Roe (Diplomat); Cockle p.91.)	1632-39

145	<b>Whetstone, George</b>	Author	32/185, 186	<i>The honorable reputation of a Souldier.</i>	1585, 1586
146	<b>Williams, Sir Roger</b>	Soldier	45/190, 191 No Entries 93/NA	1. <i>A Briefe discourse of Warre.</i> 2. <i>Newes From Sir Roger Williams.</i> 3. <i>The Actions Of The Low Countries.</i>	1590 1591 1618
147	<b>Wingfield, Anthony</b>	Soldier	No Entries	<i>A True Coppie of a Discourse written by a Gentleman, employed in the late Voyage of Spaine and Portingale.</i>	1589
148	<b>Whitehorne, Peter</b>	Soldier/ Translator	13/187, 188, 189	<i>Certain Waies for the orderyng of Souldiers in battelray.</i>	1562, 1573, 1588
149	<b>Woodall, John</b>	Surgeon	115/NA	<i>Woodalls Viaticum: The path-way to the Surgions Chest.</i>	1628, 1639



Appendix 2: Foreign works translated into English listed in chronological order

Serial No. (a)	Title (b)	Published (c)	Author (d)	Translator (e)	Cockle/ Webb Entry No (f)
1	<i>Here begynneth the table of the rubryshys of the boke of the fayt of armes and of Chyvalrye whiche said boke is departed in to four parties.</i>	1489	Christine de Pisan	William Caxton	1/No Entry
2	<i>The History, Siege and Destruction of Troy.</i>	1513	Guido delle Colonne	John Lydgate	No Entry
3	1. <i>Julius Cesars commentaries. Newly translated into Englyshe as much as concernyth thys realme of England.</i> 2. <i>The eyght bookes of Caius Julius Caesar conteynning his marttiall employtes in Gallia.</i>	1530 1565, 1590	Julius Caesar	John Tiptoft Arthur Golding	No Entry/23 No Entry/21, 22
4	<i>The Strategemes, Sleyghtes, and policies of warre.</i>	1539	Sextus Julius Frontinus	Rychard Morysine	3/69

5	<p>1. An order whych a Prince in battayll must observe, and kepe, if he entende to subdewe, or passe thoroughe his enemyes landes.</p> <p>2. The Foure bookes of Flavius Vegetius Ranatus, brieflye containinge a plaine forme, and perfect knowledge of Martiall policye, feates of Chivalrie, and whatever pertayneth to warre.</p>	1540-55?  1572	Flavius Vegetius Ranatus	Anonymous  John Sadler	4/122  17/183
6	<i>The preceptes of warre.</i>	1544	Count Giacomo Porcia	Peter Betham	6/135
7	<i>The boke of noblenes that sheweth how many sortes &amp; kyndes there is.</i>	1550	Unknown (French from Latin original)	John Larke	No Entry/95
8	<p>1. <i>The Arte of warre.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Machiavels Discourses.</i></p>	1560(62?), 1573(74?), 1588  1636	Niccolo Macchiavelli	Peter Whitehorne  E.D.	12/103, 104, 105  135/NA
9	<i>Two very notable commentaries the one of the originall of the Turcks and Empire of the house of Ottomanno, and thother of the warres of the Turck against George Scanderberg, prince of Epiro.</i>	1562	Andrea Cambini	John Shute	No Entry/158
10	<i>Of the Generall Captaine, and of his office.</i>	1563	Onosandro Platonico	Peter Whitehorne	14/119

11	1. <i>The histories of Polybius, discoursing of the warres betwixt the Romanes &amp; Carthaginenses.</i> 2. <i>The History Of Polybius The Megalopolitan.</i>	1568 1634	Polybius Louis de Meigret's French version of Polybius	C. Watson Edward Grimeston	No Entry/134 127/NA
12	<i>Most briefe tables to knowe redily howe manye ranckes of footemen armed with Corslettes, as unarmed, go to the making of a just battayle, from an hundred unto twentye thousande.</i>	1574, 1588	Girolamo Cataneo	H. G[rantham?]	19/ 24, 25
13	<i>A view of valyaunce Describing the famous feates, and martiall exploits of two most mightie nations, the Romans and the Carthaginians, for the possession of Spayne.</i>	1580	Rutilius Rufus	Thomas Newton	No Entry/152
14	<i>A Compendious Treatise, entitled De re militari, containing principall orders to be observed in Martiall affaires.</i>	1582	Luis Gutierrez de la Vega	Nicholas Lichefield	29/82
15	<i>A tragicall historie of the troubles and civile warres of the Low countries.</i>	1583	Unknown (Dutch?)	Unknown	No Entry/172
16	<i>The Art of Riding, containing diverse necessarie instructions, demonstrations, helps, and corrections appertaining to horsemanship, not heretofore expressed by anie other Author.</i>	1584	Claudio Corte	T. Bedingfield	30/37

17	<i>The Valiant Actes And victorious Battailles Of The English nation.</i>	1585	Christopher Ocland (Latin)	John Sharrock	No Entries
18	1. <i>The Politicke And Militarie Discoures Of the lord De La Noue.</i> 2. <i>The declaration of the Lord de la Noue, upon his taking armes.</i> 3. <i>A discourse upon the declaration published by the lord de la Noue.</i>	1587 1589 1589	Francois de la Noue	Edward Aggas Edward Aggas Edward Aggas	37/94 No Entry/92 No Entry/93
19	<i>A true discourse of the armie which the King of Spaine caused to bee assembled in the haven of Lisbon, in the kingdome of Portugall, in the yeare 1588. against England.</i>	1588	Unknown (French, Dutch)	Daniel Archdeacon	No Entry/175
20	<i>Three bookes of Colloquies concerning the arte of shooting in great and small peeeces of artillerie.</i>	1588	Niccolo Tartaglia	Cyprian Lucar	38/171
21	<i>Certaine briefe, and speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, merchants, students, souldiers, marriners, etc. Employed in services abroad, or anie way occasioned to converse in the kingdomes, and governementes of forren Princes.</i>	1589	Albert Meier	Unknown	44/109
22	<i>Instructions for the warres.</i>	1589	Raimond de Beccarie de Pavie, Sieur de Fourquevaux	Paul Ive	41/68
23	<i>Military discipline.</i>	1589	Sancho de Londono	Unknown	48/101

24	<p>1. <i>The besieging of Berghen uppon Zoom by the Prince of Parma.</i></p> <p>2. <i>A Breefe Description of the Battailes, Victories and Triumphs, atchived by the D. of Parma, and the Spanish Armye.</i></p>	Middelburgh, 1589? 1591	Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma	Unknown Edward Aggas	No Entry/3 No Entry/4
25	<i>A discourse concerning the Spanishe fleete invadinge Englande in the yeare 1588.</i>	1590	Petrucio Ubaldini	Unknown	No Entry/181
26	<i>A letter sent from the French King unto Monsieur de le Verune Liefetenant for his Majestie at Caen in Normandie, concerning the most happy victory which he obtained against the Leaguers and rebels in his kingdome.</i>	1590	Henri IV?	Unknown	No Entries
27	<i>The Serjeant Major. A Dialogue of the Office of Sergeant Major.</i>	1590	Francisco de Valdes	John Thorins	47/182
28	<i>The Sclopetarie of J. Quercetanus, or his booke containing the cure of Woundes received by shot of gunne or such like engines of warre.</i>	1590, 1596	Joseph Du Chesne (Quercetanus)	I. Hester	50/53, 54
29	<i>Discourses of Warre And single Combat, Translated out of French.</i>	1591	Bertrand de Loque	I. Eliot	52/102
30	<i>Ordinances Set foorth by the King, for the rule and governement of his Majesties men of warre. Read and published at Caen the 30. March.</i>	1591	Unknown (French)	Edward Aggas	53/124

31	<i>True newes from one of Sir Fraunces Veres companie Concerning Delftes-Isle, and sundry other townes in the Lowe Countries, yeelded to the generall since May last.</i>	1591	Unknown (Dutch)	Unknown	No Entry/176
32	<i>A journall, wherein is sette downe from day to day, what was doone, and worthy of noting in both armies, from the last coming of the D. of Parma into Fraunce, untill the eighteenth of May 1592.</i>	1592	Unknown	Edward Aggas	No Entry/90
33	<i>A true declaration of the streight siedge laide to the cytty of Steenwich.</i>	1592	Unknown (Dutch)	L. Thorius	No Entry/173
34	<i>Giacomo Di Grassi his true Arte of Defence.</i>	1594	Giacomo Di Grassi	I.G.	61/78
35	<i>Politicke, Moral, And Martial Discourses.</i>	1595	Jacques Hurault, Sieur de Vieul	Arthur Golding	65/85
36	<i>The history of the warres betweene the Turkes and the Persians.</i>	1595	Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi	Abraham Hartwell	No Entry/111
37	<i>Vincenzio Saviolo his Practise. In two Bookes. The first intreating the use of the Rapier and Dagger. The second, of Honor and honorable Quarrels.</i>	1595	Vincenzio Saviolo	Vincenzio Saviolo	63/154
38	<i>Theorique And Practise of Warre.</i>	1597	Don Bernardino de Mendoza	Sir Edward Hoby	67/110

39	<i>The honorable victorie obtained by grave Maurice his Excellencie, against the cittie of Rhyne-berg, the 20. of August. 1597.</i>	1597	Albert Hendricks	Unknown	No Entries
40	<i>A true declaration of that which hapned since the enemies first comming to Brommel.</i>	1599	Unknown (Dutch)	Unknown	No Entry/174
41	<i>The True and perfect declaration of the mighty army by the sea made and prepared by the generall States of the united Provinces, purposely sent forth to hinder the proceedings of the King of Spaine, under the conduct of Peter Vander Does Generall of the said army.</i>	1600	Ellert de Jonghe	Unknown	No Entry/88
42	<i>A true relation of the famous &amp; renowned [sic] victorie latelie atchieued by the counte Maurice of Nassau, neere to Newport in Flaunders against the arch-duke Albertus with the names of such noblemen &amp; others of account, as have bin eyther slaine or taken prisoners in this service late-done and y [sic] performed.</i>	1600	Unknown (Dutch)	Unknown	No Entries
43	<i>A true report of all the proceedings of Grave Mauris before the towne of Bercke.</i>	1601	Unknown (Dutch)	Unknown	No Entry/177
44	<i>Civill considerations upon many and sundrie histories, as well ancient as moderne, and principallie upon those of Guicciardin Containing sundry rules and precepts for princes, common-wealths, captaines, coronels, ambassadours and others.</i>	1601	Remigio Nannini	W.T.	No Entry/116

45	<i>The oppugnation and fierce siege of Ostend.</i>	1601	Unknown (Dutch)	Unknown	No Entry/120
46	<i>A proclamation or proscription, set forth &amp; published by the archduke Albertus, against his mutinous soldiers in the castle of Hoochstrate. Printed at Bruxels. Faithfully translated into English out of the Dutch copy printed at Middleborough, by the first original.</i>	1602	Unknown (Dutch)	Unknown	No Entries
47	<i>A true discourse of all the sallies which the soldiers of the citie of Grave have made since the siege and in what manner the admiral, with a great hoast of horse and foote, with dyvers waggons laden with ladders, powder, shot, and other necessaries of reliefe, came to relieve the citie, the 22. of August.</i>	1602	Johann van de Vennecool	Unknown	No Entries
48	<i>A true historie of the memorable siege of Ostend and what passed on either side, from the beginning of the siege, unto the yeelding up of the towne.</i>	1604	Unknown (French)	Edward Grimeston	No Entries
49	<i>The exercise of Armes For Calivres, Muskettes, and Pikes.</i>	The Hague, 1607, 1619	Jacob de Gheyn	Unknown	79/76
50	<i>The Triumphs Of Nassau: Or, A Derscription And Representation of all the Victories both by Land and Sea, granted by God to the noble, high, and mightie Lords, the Estates generall of the united Netherlands Provinces.</i>	1613, 1620	Jan Janszoon Orlers	W. Shute	83/NA



51	1. The Tactics of Elian Or art of embattailing an army after the Grecian manner Englished illustrated with figures throughout. 1. The Art Of Embattailing An Army. Or, The Second Part Of Elians Tactics.	1616	Elian (Maurice of Nassau)	John Bingham	88, 89/NA
52	The Method of Curing Wounds made by Gun-shots.	1617	Ambroise Pare	Walter Hammond	No Entries
53	The Historic Of Xenophon. Whereunto is added A Comparison of the Roman manner of Warres with this of our Time.	1623	Justus Lipsius	John Bingham	98/NA
54	The Freeschoole Of Warre, Or, A Treatise, Whether It Be Lawfull To beare Armes for the service of a Prince that is of a divers Religion.	1625	Anonymous Roman Catholic Italian	W.B.	103/NA
55	1. The Siege Of Breda. 2. The Siege Of Breda By The Armes Of Phillip The Fourth Under The Government Of Isabella Atchived By The Conduct Of Ambr. Spinola.	Ghent(?), 1627 Louvain, 1627	Herman Hugo	Henry Gage Gerrat Barry	110/NA 111/NA
56	A Treatise Of Artificial Fire-Works Both for Warres and Recreation.	1629	Francis Malthus	Francis Malthus	118/NA
57	The Government of the Light Horse.	1632	Giorgio Basta	Unknown	123/NA

58	<i>The Art of Fortification.</i>	1638	Samuel Marolois	Henry Hexham	139/NA
59	<i>The Art Of War, Or Militarie discourses Of leavying, marching, encamping; and embattailing an armie.</i>	Cambridge, 1639	Du Praissac	John Cruso	146/NA
60	<i>A Relation Of The Late Seidge and taking of the City Of Babylon By The Turke. As it was written from thence by Zarain Aga, one of his Captaines, to Caymaran (his brother) Vice-Roy in Constantinople.</i>	1639	Zarain Aga	W. H[olloway]	No Entries
61	<i>The Complete Captain, or, An Abbridgement of Caesars Warres, with Observations upon Them.</i>	Cambridge, 1640 (1694) (London, 1708)	Henri, Duc de Rohan	John Cruso	148/NA

Appendix 3: Orders for armies listed in chronological order

Serial No.	Title	Published	Authority	Cockle/ Webb Entry No
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
1	<i>Statutes and ordynances for the war.</i>	1513, 1544	Henry VIII	8/164, 165
2	<i>A proclamacion...for the executyng of a lawe martiall for payne of death against rebellors and their upstytors.</i>	1549	Edward VI	No Entry/136
3	<i>An acte for the havynge of horsse, armour and weapon.</i>	1558	The kynge and Quenes majesties, with thassentes of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present Parliament.	No Entry/2
4	<i>A declaration of the just, honourable, and necessarie causes, that move the Queenes Majestie to levie and sende an armie to the borders of Scotland.</i>	1570	Elizabeth I	No Entries
5	<i>The effect of certaine branches of the Statute made in Anno, xxxiii. Hen. viii. touching the maintenance of Artillerie, and the punishment of suche as use or maintayne unlawfull Games, very necessarie to be put in Execution.</i>	1570, 1572, 1574, 1580, 1608, 1619, 1625, 1626, 1628, 1632	Elizabeth I, James I, Charles I	No Entries/35, 36, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66

6	Lawes and Ordinances.	1586	Robert Earle of Leycester, the Queenes Majesties Lieutenant and Captaine General of her armie and forces in the Lowe Countries.	33/52
7	<i>The Queenes Majestie being given to understand, that divers souldiers upon dissolving of the campe at Tilberie in the countie of Essex, have in their way homeward solde divers their armours and weapons...</i>	1588	Elizabeth I	No Entry/137
8	<i>The Queenes Most Excellent Majestie having ordred that a certaine number of souldiers shall bee forthwith levied and pressed to repaire into the lowe Countries.</i>	1588	Elizabeth I	No Entry/138
9	<i>A proclamation concernnig [sic] the souldiers appointed to serve in Her Majesties service beyond the seas, under the charge of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake.</i>	1589	Elizabeth I	No Entry/139
10	<i>Ordonances and instructions for musters, to be observed by the governors, chiefe officers, captaines and souldiers, in her Majesties pay in the Lowe Countries.</i>	1590	Her Majestie, and the Lordes of her Highnesse privie Counsaile.	No Entry/125
11	<i>Lawes and orders of warre established for the good conduct of the service in Ireland.</i>	Dublin, 1599	Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, Earle Marshall of Englande..her Majesties Lieutenant and Governor generall of the kingdome of Ireland.	No Entry/97

12	<i>Orders established by the lords the Generall States, touching the mustring and welgoverning of the companies. Tr. out of the Dutch coppy printed at S'Graven Hage.</i>	1599	Unknown	No Entry/123
13	<i>The Queenes Majesties proclamation declaring here princely resolution in sending over of her army into the realme of Ireland.</i>	1599	Elizabeth I	No Entry/141
14	<i>Instructions For Musters And Armes, And the use thereof.</i>	1623	By order from the Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsaile.	99/NA
15	<i>Lawes And Ordinances touching military discipline. Set downe and established the 13. of August. 1590. Translated into English by I.D.</i>	The Hague, 1631 (Edinburgh, 1689)	By order of the Councell of State (1590). By Order of His Majesties Privy Council (1689).	121/NA
16	<i>Lawes and orders of warre established for the good conduct of the service in Ireland.</i>	1625	Henrie, Lord Vice-Count of Falkland, one of the Lords of his Majesties Most Honourable Privie Councell of England, and Lord Deputie Generall of the Realme of Ireland.	No Entries

17	<i>Lawes and Ordinances Of Warre.</i>	Newcastle, 1639	For the better Government of His Majesties Army Royall, in the present Expedition for the Northern parts, and the safety of the Kingdome. Under the Conduct of his Excellence, The Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Arundell and Surrey, Earl Marshall of England, and Generall of His Majesties Forces.	144/NA
18	<i>Lawes and Ordinances of Warre, Established for the better conduct of the Service in the Northern parts.</i>	1640	Earl of Northumberland, Lord Generall of His Majesties Armie and Fleet.	149/NA
19	<i>An Ordinance Of The Lords and Commons in Parliament. For The safety and defence of the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales.</i>	1641	As It was commanded by both the said Houses.	150/NA
20	<i>A true Abstract Of A List, In which is set down the severall entertainments allowed by His Majesty to the Officers and other souldiers of His Army. With the Copy of an Oath given to all the chiefe Commanders, Officers and Souldiers at their entertainment to the Kings service. Also some few special Orders ordained in His Majesties Army.</i>	1642	<i>(It is unclear with what authority this was published. The title page shows the King's coat-of-arms.)</i>	154/NA

21	<i>Certain Orders Meete To Be Observed Upon Any Foraine Invasion, For those Shires that lye upon the Sea Coastes. With a Direction to the Justices of the Peace.</i>	1642	<i>(It is unclear with what authority this was published.)</i>	161/NA
22	<i>Lawes and Ordinances Of Warre, Established for the better Conduct Of The Army.</i>	1642	<i>(It is unclear with what authority this was published.)</i>	No Entries

**Appendix 4: News publications (*corantos*) on or including military topics**  
 This list does not include those titles referred to in Serial 144 of Appendix 1

Serial No. (a)	Title (b)	Year (c)	Publisher (d)
1	<i>Good newes for the King of Bohemia? or, A certaine relation of the last and great overthrow, given by the Duke of Brunswicke to the Bishop of Cullen, and Duke of Bavariales forces wherein was rumored, that Brunswicke was slaine. With the proceedings of Count Mansfield, since his last comming into the Palatinate, and since the Emperours ambassadour came into England, with other accidents, both in the Palatinate, and else-where. Sent of purpose by a person of account the eight day of April, and now published the seventeenth 1622.</i>	1622	Unknown
2	<i>Good newes from Alsasia and the Palatinate, the fift of July The abstract of three severall letters, the one sent from Elsas in Alsatia, where Leopold used to keepe his court, the other from Hagenaw which was besieged by him the last from Franke-fort, containing the King of Bohemia's pursute of his victory obtained against the Emperours forces under Leopoldus. Afterwards the marching of the Kings forces under Count Mansfield, towards the Landtgraue of Darmestats country, with the abstract of another letter sent from the land of Hessen, relating the adventures which happened to the Duke Christian of Brunswicke in his journey towards the Palatinate. The late proceedings in the Low-countries, France, and divers other parts in Germanie.</i>	1622	Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer



3	<p><i>A true[re] relat[i]on of the pro[cee]dings of the Bavarian and Spa[nish] forces before the city Heydelburgh having very strongly besieged it. As also, the marching of the King of Bohemia and Count Mansfield, with their forces into Alsatia, belonging to Leopoldus the emperours brother, and the Duke of Brunswicke into Bavaria. Likewise, the newes from most of the provinces of Europe, that therein you may behold, the afflicted estate of Christendome, with the various changes whereunto man is subjected.</i></p>	1622	Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer
4	<p><i>A true relation of all such battailes as have beene fought in the Palatinate, since the Kings arrivall there, untill this present the 24. of May As also an abstract of a letter sent from the King of Bohemia to the Prince of Orange, concerning both the defeat of the yonger Duke of Wirtenbourghs forces, by Gonzales, generall of the Spaniards, with the recovery of the said dukes forces by the Marquesse of Baden, who at the same time set upon Gonzales forces, put them to flight, and made a great slaughter. Likewise the notable victory woone by Christian Duke of Brunswicke against the Bavarians, and some of Grave Henrick Varberghes forces, in his way going towards the Palatinate, and his burning of the great towne of Giesken. With the famous victorie obtained by the King of Bohemia against Leopoldus, before Hagenaw, wherein he was besieged: how he raised the siege, and drawe the Bavarians out of the field. Lastly, the victory of the grave Henrick Van Nassaw in Brabant, whence he brought great store of treasure and many prisoners.</i></p>	1622	Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer

5	<p><i>Three great overthrowes one in the Palatinate, against Monsieur Tilley, the Duke of Bavaria's generall: given by the king of Bohemia himselfe, being in person in the same battell, with Sir Horatio Vere, but not Count Mansfield, as is reported, hee being at the same time in Spiers. The other before Haggenaw, against Leopoldus forces, the emperours brother, by Count Mansfields garrisons, left in the same citie. The last in Languedock in France, against the Kings forces, since Soubrizes defeat by his brother the Duke of Rohan, who hath taken Memorancy the admirall prisoner. Collected out of two letters, the one sent from Heydelburgh, the other from Mainhime, by an expresse post, that arrived here on May day at night.</i></p>	1622	B. Alsop
6	<p><i>A letter sent from Maynhem concerning the late defeate given the Duke of Brunswicke by Monsieur Tilley Whereunto is added a couranto of other newes from Vienna, Prague, the Palatinate and other places this 20. of June. 1622.</i></p>	1622	Nathaniel Butter
7	<p><i>The late proceedings in all troubled parts of Christendome this 25 of July 1622 With the besidgeing and taking in of the city of Mayneuelte by the protestants in Switzerland, which was under the Arch Duke Leopoldus custodie. The weekly newes from Italy, Germanie, Hungaria, Bohemia, the Palatinate, and the Low Countries. Printed this 25. of June.</i></p>	1622	Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer
8	<p><i>The relation of all the last passages of the warres in the Palatinate, and how both armies have disposed themselves unto further enterprises Wherein is set forth the vallourous repulse of Monsieur Tilley from Heidelberg; with his great losse of men before it. Together with his journey into the Marquis of Tourlachs country; and his plot for the taking in of all the three townes, Heidelberg, Manheim, and Frankendale; with Generall Veres provision, to hinder that designe. Moreover the exployts of Count Mansfeild, and of Brunswicke in Alsatia; and of their passage thence through Lorraine towards Luxumborgh, and Burgundy; with the King of Bohemia's arrivall at Sedan. And lastly, the siege of Bergen ap [sic] Zoon by Spinola. Written from Frankendale the 20. and out of Lorraine the 23. of July 1622. Stilo novo. Printed this eighteenth of July.</i></p>	1622	Nathaniel Newbery and William Sheffard

9	<i>The 26. of July. A true, plaine, and compendious discourse of the besieging of Bergen up Zome showing the late actions of Spinolas forces before the same. VVith the proceedings of the Prince of Orange before Satingambus. As also what hath happened of late to the rest of the armies in the low countries.</i>	1622	Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer
10	<i>The 19. of August. The entertainement of Count Mansfield, and the Duke of Brunswick, into the service of the Duke of Bulloigne, being both dismissed by the King of Bohemia.: As also the invasion made upon the countrey of Ser Bruggen by Count Mansfield, with his arrivall in the province of Namure...with strange tidings from Bergen up Zome...likewise the wonderfull proceedings of Monsieur Tilly and Don Cordova in the palatinate..moreover, the late commotion which happened in Turkie, wherein about 60000 Turkes were slayne: with the actions of Bethlem Gabor.</i>	1622	Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer
11	<i>The certaine newes of this present weeke. Continued from Rome, Naples, Genoway, France, the Low-Countires, the Palatinate, and many other places. Wherein is truly set downe the manner of the last fight at Bergen-up-zoam ... with the certaine present state of Count Mansfield ... also other speciall letters and advisements concerning a new defeat said to be given since to Spinola ... by the Prince of Oranges forces. Lastly is added a speciall relation of the death of that famous and worthy Captaine Fairfax, being slaine at Frankendale.</i>	1622	Nathaniel Butter

12	<p><i>August II. 1622. A remonstrance of the French subjects professing the reformed religion unto the French King Wherein are shewne divers notable passages, and matters of great waight and consideration, as well of the present as of the former troubles and dissensions in France. As also, a relation, containing the rebellion of the nobilitie and gentrie of the kingdome of Naples, and the retreat of the Vice-Roy. The sea-fight betwixt the gallies of Spaine, and Florence, and some pirates. The resolution of Bethlem Gabor ... The arrivall of Sir Robert Sherley at Florence, being sent ambassassador [sic] from the King of Persia. Besides the late proceedings of the Duke of Saxony ... Of the Count Mansfeild, and the Duke Christian of Brunswick; as likewise what Spinola determines to do, and hath done, before Breda, Bergen op Zoon, and Sluce.</i></p>	1622	Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer
13	<p><i>The post of the prince which advises us the taking of Steen Bergh. And the besieging of Berghen vp Zoom, with all the circumstances of the parleyes, assaults, sallies, and all what is done untill this time, as well by the Spanish campe, as the states garrisons. And relates all the late newes of Europe. And principally all the late proceedings of the Prince Palatine, the Count Mansfeild, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Marquis of Baden; besides, all the late warre like actions in Switzerland; the Grysons; and Low Countries.</i></p>	1622	Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer
14	<p><i>The fourth of September. Newes from sundry places, both forraine and domestique From Venice, Rome, Spaine, France, Naples, the Palatinate, and the Low-Countries. A relation of Count Mansfeilds progresse, (his battaile with Gonsalo in his passage) till his arrivall at Breda, with the Duke of Brunswicke his valiant pursuit of Gonsalo, (being wounded) and the slaughter of 500. of his men, and the taking of certaine waggons, and Gonsales owne coath. Whereunto is added, a true and certaine report, of the lamentable shipwracke which happened at Plimoth in Devonshire, on Munday the 19th. of August last past, with other great harne done elsewhere, by lightning and thunder on the same day.</i></p>	1622	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne

15	<i>The 14. of September. A relation of many memorable passages from Rome, Italy, Spaine, France, Germany, the Low-Countries, the Palatinate, and other places with some famous exploits performed at Bergen-Upzom since the 4. of this moneth, stilo novo.</i>	1622	Nathaniel Butter, Bartholomew Downes and William Sheffard
16	<i>A coranto Relating divers particulars concerning the newes out of Italy, Spaine, Turkey, Persia, Bohemia, Sweden, Poland, Austria, the Pallatinates, the Grisons, and divers places of the higher and Lower Germanie.</i>	1622	Nathaniel Butter, Bartholomew Downes and William Sheffard
17	<i>More newes from the Palatinate the second time imprinted June the 5. Containing the true copies of certaine letters of great import written from Manheim, relating most fully the last pursuit of the emperours forces under Leopold: with their utter defeat. As also what befell the duke of Brunswicke in his passage to joyne with the king of Bohemia. Together with the true and present estate of count Mansfield, the marquis of Baden, the generall vere, Don Cordova, de Tilly, and their severall armies. With the preparations of Bethlem Gabor for the duke of Bavaria, and count Mansfields marching with his armie toward Dermstadt. And many other considerable things concerning the affaires of Germanie and the low countries.</i>	1622	Nathaniel Butter and William Sheffard
18	<i>The 4. of Octob: 1622. A true relation of the affaires of Europe, especially, France, Flanders, and the Palatinate Whereby you may see the present estate of her provinces, and conjecture what these troubles and wars may produce. Together with a second overthrow given the French Kings forces at Mompelier, by those of the Protestant League, wherein were slaine a great number of the Kings armie. Last of all. the remove of the famous siedge before Bergen, upon the 22. of September last, with the retreat of Spinola to Antwerp, as taking advantage of the time, and not able to continue, for feare of utter dissipation.</i>	1622	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
19	<i>A letter sent from Maynhem concerning the late defeat given the Duke of Brunswicke by Monsieur Tilley Whereunto is added a couranto of other newes from Vienna, Prague, the Palatinate and other places this 20. of June. 1622.</i>	1622	Nathaniel Butter

20	<i>Coppies of letters sent from personages of accompt unto divers personages of worth in London truly relating all such remarkable occurrences as have hapned in the Palatinate from the 30th of May to the 11 of July. Amongst which, the prise that Count Mansfield hath taken from the Bavarian. As also the mis-hap of the Duke of Brunswicke in his passage over the river of Mayne. Likewise a relation of divers strange and miraculous accidents, falling out thereabouts. By Doctor Welles and others. Printed this 22. of June 1622.</i>	1622	John Bartlet
21	<i>The King of Bohemia's welcome to Count Mansfield, and into the Palatinate with the defeat of Bavaria's and Monsieur Tilley's army, since his arrivall: (the King being there in person) their resolution to march into Bavaria. The papists feare of his good successe, and further progression: and many other remarkable thinges concerning Brunswick and his actions. Faithfully taken out of the letters of best credit.</i>	1622	Unknown
22	<i>Newes from Turkie and Poland. Or A true and compendious declaration of the proceedings betweene the great Turke, and his Majestie of Poland, from the beginning of the warres, untill the latter end With a relation of their daily military actions; shewing plainly how the warre continued and ended, peace was concluded, the troubles appeased, the articles of agreement confirmed, and a full league of amity ratified. Translated out of a Latine copie, written by a gentleman of quality, who was an actor in all the businesse: and now with his consent published.</i>	1622	Unknown
23	<i>October 15, 1622. A relation of the late occurrents which have happened in Christendome especially at Rome, Venice, Spaine, France, and the upper Germanie. With severall letters of the particular late businesse which hath happened in France, before the conclusion of peace was made. Together with the articles agreed upon betwixt the kings commissioners on the one part, and the Duke de Rohan on the other part, in behalfe of the Protestants.</i>	1622	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne

24	<p>Novemb. 28. Numb. 9. Briefe abstracts out of diverse letters of trust Relating the newes of this present weeke, out of Persia, Egypt, Babylon, Barbary, Turkey, Italy, Spaine, Germanie, Silesia, France, and the Low Countries, with divers passages from the sea. Wherein are remembered the troubles in the Turkish Empire, the strength of the pyrates of Argier, with a touch of the giving up of the towne of Glatz, and the holding out of Frankendale. With the victories of Count Mansfield in the land of Embden, and the flight of the Count of that countrey; and the going on of the Prince of Orange towards Lingen. Together with the sea businesses of the Spanish and Hollandish fleets. In the end is added something of the French affaires, with some other occurrences.</p>	1622	Nathaniel Butter, Nicholas Bourne, and William Sheffard
25	<p>June 26. Numb. 37. More newes; containing, the troubles in the emprise upon the comming of Bethlem Gabor As also, Mounseieur Tillies quartering in Hessenland. Brunswicks muster, forces, and march. Mansfields stay of the ships of Embden, for the carrying away of his army. The King of Denmarke forwardnesse. The continuance of the siege of Warendorp, by the Baron of Anholt. The preparations of Don Cordoua, Spinola, and the Prince of Orange for the field. The last newes of the Grisons. Together with, the continuation of our former newes.</p>	1623	Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer.
26	<p>July 22. Numb. 41. More newes of the Duke of Brunswick Relating the late and full overthrow given by him to two regiments of Monsieur Tilly. The continuance of Bethlem Gabers warlike preparations. Some new propositions made by the emperour vnto him. Count Mansfields march out of Embdenland, unto Meppen. With other newes of the Prince of Orang and Spinolaes last designes. Together with divers other particulars, from severall places and the continuation of our former newes.</p>	1623	Nathaniel Butter and William Sheffard

27	<p>July 29. Numb. 42. More newes of the good successe of the Duke of Brunswicke Fully relating his last and severall victories atchieved against the forces of Monsieur Tilly. With the muster, march, strength, order, approches, encounters, and pursuits of the said Duke of Brunswick; from the first setting forth unto the third of our July. As likewise some letters betwixt the old Duke of Brunswick and Monsieur Tilly, concerning the state of the businesse. Something also of the emperours other preparations, and severall other occurrences about the Kings of Denmarke, Poland, and Sweden. Together with other weekly newes from sundry other places.</p>	1623	Nathaniel Butter, Nicholas Bourne, Thomas Archer, William Sheffard and Bartholomew Downes.
28	<p>A relation of Count Mansfeilds last proceedings, since his entertainment into the service of the French king. Also Bethlem Gabons great preparations. The last disposing of things in the Palatinate. The Duke of Fianoes [sic] entring upon the Valtoline for the pope. Likewise the last designs of Count Henry Vandenberg. With the Prince of Oranges marching to Breda. Lastly, the Duke of Brunswicks, the king of Demarkes, and Don Cordua's last proceedings. With diverse other remakeable [sic] passages from forraine parts.</p>	1623	Nathaniel Butter, Nicholas Bourne, and William Sheffard
29	<p>Novem. 22. Numb. 42. The continuation of our weekly newes containing these particulars following, the warlike proceedins and good successe of the French and their confederates in the Grisons and Valtoline, the great victories which the Hollanders have gotten in Perue.</p>	1624	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne



30	<p>A true report of all the speciall passages of note lately happened in the Ile of Ree betwixt the Lord Duke of Buckingham am his Grace, Generall for the King of England, and Monsieur Thorax, Governour of the Fort in the said Ile, as also betwixt the Duke and the French King, likewise the present state of the Rochellers, and of the Kings Armie lying before it. [Novemb. I.] Numb. 40. The continuation of our weekly newes from the 24. of October to the 2. of November. Containing among the rest these speciall particulars following. Unto which is added newes from Germany, France, and divers parts of Christendome. The warlike proceedings of the imperialists, and Danish. The treatie of peace betwixt Poland and Sweden. The Emperours journey towarde Prague. Besides divers other matters of moment. Printed by authoritie.</p>	1627	Nathaniel Butter
31	<p>July. 16. Numb. 9. The continuation of the most remarkable occurrences of newes, since the 4 of June, untill this present. 1630 Containing, amongst divers others, these particulars. The preparation and landing of the King of Sweden in Germany, with a mighty army, against the emperor: together with a list of his whole army, horse and foot. A late skirmish and overthrow given by the States forces, to Count John of Nassaw, himselfe being taken prisoner, being sore hurt: together with divers men of note neare Wesel. Newes of the arrivall of the two Spanish plate fleets at the Havanna, with the Gargazin of their lading and riches. The great jelousie of the emperor, of the Turkes comming into Hungary, with the great cruelty of the said Turkes, used against certaine merchants of Hungary. The arrivall of divers Dutch ships; richly laden, both from East-Indies, and from Farnambuco together with many other particulars, both from Italy Savoy, France, and the Low-Countries.</p>	1630	Nicholas Bourne

32	<i>The Continuation of our newes from the 4. to the 17. of this instant: Containing amongst other things, these particulars. A great overthrow given to the king of Persia by the Turkes. A letter written by the king ow Sweden, being a second manifestation of his proceeding, &amp; the reasons thereof, with severall passages concerning Germany, and of the administrator of Hall, his preparation and successe in, and neere Magdenburg. The valour and courage of the Protestants in Bohemia, in resisting the tyranny of the imperialists over their conscience. Some late passages of the king of Denmarke, and those of Hamborough, and of his good successe against the Hamburgers, and others.</i>	1630	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
33	<i>The causes for which the most high and mighty prince and lo: Lord Gustavus Adolphus of the Swedes, Gothes, and Vandals King great Prince of Finland, Duke of Esthonia and Carelia, and Lord of Ingria, is at length constrained to move with an armie into Germany. Translated out of the Latine copy.</i>	1631	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
34	<i>March 14. Numb. 23. The continuation of our weekly newes, from the 18. of February to this 14. of March Containing, amongst other things, these particulars following: the good successe of the king of Sweden in the land of Meckelburgh, with the names of the townes he hath lately taken. With divers particulars concerning Monsieur Tilly his preparation and strength to oppose the said king of Sweden. The French Kings letter to the court of Parliament of Normandy, concerning the restraint of the Queene Mother, and other of the nobility of France. In French and English.</i>	1631	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
35	<i>The continuation of our weekly avises, since the 16. of May to the 4. of June, contayning amongst many other matters, these particulars following: The late Deplorable losse of the famous City of Magdeburgh.</i>	1631	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne

36	<p>June, 25. Numb. 31. The continuation of our weekly newes from forraine parts Contayning amongst divers matters these particulars following. The preparation of the Duke of Saxony and all the Protestant princes, and their unanimous joyning with the King of Sweden, for the recovery and preservation of theyr liberties, against the unjust persecution of the Emperour. The great preparation of the King of Sweden for the performance of some great designe about the river blue. The Emperours denunciation of grievous punishment against the citie Newrembergh and all that shall partake with them, by reason they continue in the raising forcesx contrary to the Emperours command, to which end the Emperor hath given charge to the D. of Bavaria to oppose them with all his powers.</p>	1631	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
37	<p>Septemb. 2. Numb. 37. The continuation of our forraine aviseoes, from the 20. of the last moneth to this present Containing the confirmation of the newes published the 20.th of August, concerning the severall encounters betwixt the King of Sweden and General Tilly, with the three dayes welcome given him, upon his project of naying the K. of Sweden ordnance. An apologie of the King of Swedens (formerly published in the Dutch) not unfit to give satisfaction to the world, concerning his not relieving of the citie Magdenburgh, wherein you shall finde a briefe relation of the Kings proceeding ever since hee began the warre in Germanie. The landing of the L. Generall, the Marquis Hamilton at Stralsunt, with all his men sound and well.</p>	1631	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
38	<p>The Continuation of our weekly intelligence since the 22. of this present moneth, to the 29. containing many notable and very remarkable passages, amongst the rest, you shall finde these, the strange and unexpected reduction of the city of Prage in Bohemia ..., the taking whereof (with Gods assistance) was performed by the old Count of Thorne ..., the great preparation of the B. of Collen ... and other leagers, to joyne with the imperiall scattered troopes.</p>	1631	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
39	<p>November 29. Numb. 50. The continuation of our forraine intelligence since the 22. to this present moneth. The first part.</p>	1631	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne

40	<p><i>A relation of the King of Sweden, his happie and incomparable successe and victories, against the forces of the Emperour, in Pomerania and the adjacent places, since Christmas last with his answer to the Emperours letter, expressing the cause of his undertaking the said warre and his resolution to continue the same, until Germany bee restored to his former liberty. Together with the names of the forts, townes, and cities taken; as also, the interception and taking of the convoyes of waggons of provision and other necessities of the Imperialists, since the same time by the King of Sweden. Febr. the 18. Unto which is added our weekly aviseoes from Germanie and other parts.</i></p>	1631	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
41	<p><i>January 12. Numb. 6. The continuation of our weekly aviseoes, since the 2. ditto to the 12. of the same Containing amongst divers other things these particulars following; the arrivall of the Queene of Sweden at the citie of Wittenburg, where a few houres after came a messenger from the King of Sweden, that presented her with these particulars following. An image of the child Jesus of pure gold ... and another image of S. Martin of pure gold; all which amongst other he had taken, being ornaments of popish churches. The present state of Tillyes armie ... The rendring of the citie of Mentz, and Oppenheim, with the taking of that castle by assault, with the articles of agreement upon the former rendring. The cruell and barbarous behaviour of the Spanisp [sic] towards all the townes which they doe forsake before they depart away from them. The King of Sweden hath lately taken in the Palatinate these townes; Oppenheim, Crutznatk, Bagrag, Ladenburg, Slakenburg, and all the Bergstraigh</i></p>	1632	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
42	<p><i>October 16. A journall of all the principall passages of that late famous siege and taking of the citie of Mastricht by the Prince of Orange Wherein you shall meete with many very remarkable passages, both on the part of the besiegers and besieged. Written by a gentleman of qualitie; and an actor in most of the proceedings. Unto which is added a list of all the principall commaunders, and other officers, which were either slaine or hurt of all nations in time of the siege.</i></p>	1632	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne

43	<p>Aprill 28. Numb. 20. The continuation of our forraine aviseoes, since the 24. ditto Containing many very remarkable passages concerning Germany, Italy, France, the Low Countries, &amp;c. As namely, the popes deniall to furnish the emperor with money. Discontents betwixt the emperor, and the Prince of Transilvania. A more particular relation of the King of Swedens routing of Generall Tilly neare Ausburgh. His majesties further proceedings since then, and of his taking in of these townes Ginsburgh, Lawingen, Hoogstadt; Dillingen, Grundelingen, Windelingen, Elching, Kirberg. Oberendorfe. A pretty passage betwixt the King of Sweden and one of Tillies sentinels. The restoring of the Protestant religion at Donawert, and rendring of divers cities and townes in Bavaria, to his Majstie of Sweden. With many other particulars from divers other places.</p>	1632	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
44	<p>June 6. Numb. 26. The continuation of our forraine aviseoes, since the 28. of the last moneth, to this present 1. The care of the old King and State of Poland, to provide for the defence of Liutania, and the confines, against the present invasion of the Muscovite. 2. The like care of the late King of Poland, for the government of that kingdom in the interregnum, (being sicke) if in case he should die, and of his death on the 29. of Aprill following. 3. The names of some of the competitors which doe now labour to make a faction to be elected king. 4. The latest and best confirmed newes of the King of Sweden his proceeding in Bavaria, and of those cruelties used by the mutinous Boores against some of the Swedes, whereupon the King hath beene forced to punish that country, more then hee hath done any place, since he came into Germany</p>	1632	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
45	<p>June 23. 1632. Numb. 29. The continuation of our forraine aviseoes, since the 16. of this present The continuance of the troubles at Constantinople. The differences in Polonia, about the choyce of a new King. The articles between the King of Sweden and the Duke of Bavaria. A letter of the French kings, relating the troubles betwixt his majestie and the Duke of Loraine. Some Low-Country passages about the present state of the warres there. The rendition of Prague to the Emperour vpon conditions. Some late passages of the King of Sweden in Bavaria. Also, the pursuite of the Spanish by the Swedish in the Palatinate.</p>	1632	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne

46	<p><i>The continuation of our weekly aviseoes, since the 13 of this present. Containing amongst diverse other things these ensuing particulars. A relation of what is lately passed in the armies both of the king of Sweden, and the imperiall generals Walsteyn, and Bavaria ... The burning of the city Friedstadt by Generall Oxensteyn ... Two hundred waggons of provision sent to Walsteyns army, surprized by the Sweds [sic] ... The solemne preparation of the French king and his counsell to goe against the revolted lords ... The state of Maestricht as it lately stood, with a great defeat given Pappenheym in endeavouring to relieve it.</i></p>	1632	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
47	<p><i>The continuation of our weekly aviseoes, since the 25 of this present. Containing amongst the rest these particulars General Banniers marching out of Bavaria ... The defeat of 700. Crabats by the king of Sweden ... Letters of the 5. and 6. of this moneth from Norimberg ... Vladislaus ... chosen king of Poland ... Pappenheym defeated ... by the duke of Lunenburgh ... The overthrow of about 7. or 800. rebellious Boores in Fulda by the landgrauue of Hessen. The latest passages of Maestricht ... with the names of the English commmanders kild and hurt.</i></p>	1632	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
48	<p><i>A relation sent to the French king by the Marshall de Schomberg, of the fight betweene the army which he commaundeth, and the army of Mounsier the Duke of Orleans, neere to Castelnaud-Ary the first of September. 1632. The names of many great mounsieurs, captains, and commaunders slaine of the duke of Orleans side, and some of the kings side. Translated out of the French copie printed at Lyons. Another famous overthrow since given (by that valiant old Protestant souldier, Monsieur de la Force, with onely 800. foote, and 400. horse) to 3000. foote and 400. horse of the Duke of Orleans, under the commaund of delbeur, one of the house of Guise.</i></p>	1632	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne

49	<p>The continuation of our weekly aviseoes, since the 30. of the last moneth to this present Containing amongst the rest these particulars following. 1 The free exercise of the Protestant religion in Ratisbone, or Reginspurgh. 2 Other letters written and sent by Henry Earle of Vandenberg; the one to the Infanta, manifesting his discontent, the other to the states, prelates, nobility, gentry, cities, and provinces of the Netherlands. 3 A letter from Norimberg concerning the King of Sweden his being at Furte with 20000. experienced souldiers, intending to meete with Walsteyn in Bohemia. 4 The passages of the Duke of Saxonie, and Walsteyn, or Freedland, before the King of Sweden came neere them. 5 The late accord betwixt the French King, and the D. of Lorraine. 6 Generall Pappenheym beaten by the Lands-grave of Hessen. 7 The great discontent amongst the subjects of the Arch-Dutches, upon the revolt of the Lords.</p>	1632	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
50	<p>The continuation of our weekly aviseoes, since the 19. of this present. Certaine late and very remarkable passages twixt the Pope, and the embassadours of the Emperour and King of Spaine, concerning the excommunication of the King of Sweden and his adherents. A resolute and very religious speach of the King of Sweden, upon occasion of a danger escaped. The last and certaintest passages of Maestricht, in manner of a diurnall, by which you may guest of the event of that siedge. The names of certain English and French commanders lately hurt and slaine before Maestricht. A proclamation of the King of Spaine against Count Henry of Vandenberg, one of the revolted lords of that state. Conditions proffered by the Emperour to draw the Duke of Saxonto his side: ineffective. Besides divers other particulars of note.</p>	1632	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne

51	<p>September 1. Numb. 42. The continuation of our weekly aviseoes, since the 23. of the last, to the first of this present Containing amongst the rest, these particulars following. A patheticall speech made by the King of Sweden to his commaunders and captaines, upon occasion of some misdemeanors committed by the souldiers. The confirmation of the burning of the Walsteyn and Bavarian magazens at Fryenstadt, together with the defeat given unto some imperiall regiments at the same time. The taking of great Glogaw and Breslaw, with other townes in Silesia, by the nixt forces of the Swedes, Saxons and Brandenburgers. The preparation of the King of Sweden by (command of a generall fast throughout the whole army, and in the city of Norimberg) to goe upon some great designe, most of his forces being come to him. Something concerning France, and the troubles there.</p>	1632	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
52	<p>October 3. Numb. 48. The continuation of our forraine aviseoes, from the 26. of September to this present The encamping of the K. of Swedens army behind Furt, to intercept the furnishing of Walsteyns army with victuals. The Duke of Bavaria would have gone into his owne country, but was refused. The apprehension of the Marquis De Oliuares, and Leganes in Spaine. The great victories lately obtained by the Saxon and Swedish forces in Silesia, with the taking of Steynan, where the Imperiall Generall Don Baltazar, and the rest of the chiefe commanders, with 3000. souldiers were forced to save themselves in the Sconce. The taking of the Imperiall Generall Holken that hath lately done all the spoile and mischeife in Bohemia. The taking of the citie Offenburgh by Gustavus Horne, very advantageous for the Swedish. Some passages betwixt the French King and Monsieur tending to an agreement, with some articles propounded. Newes from Spaine of that great losse of the King of Spaine in the East Indies. Certaine commissioners sent from the arch-dutchesse to the states to treat of peace.</p>	1632	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne



53	<i>The continuation of our forraine avisoës, from the third of October to this present. Divers larger and exacter relations of the utter ruine of the imperiall armie in Silesia. More newes of the Boores of Austria. Of the king of Swedens armie in Franconia. Some difference in Polonia. Wallensteyns leaving of his trenches. Some combustions betwixt the Boores and souldiers in Flanders. With many other occurrences of note from other places.</i>	1632	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
54	<i>February 8. Numb. 10. The continuation of our forraine intelligence, since the 3. of the last to this present Containing many remarkable passages, amongst the rest these following. A more exact relation of the fearfull burning of the hill Soma nere Naples then the former, with the effects it hath wrought in that citie upon the publicke harlots as well as other people. The adventure of the Imperiall Generall Pappenheim to relieve (or rather to ruine) the citie Magdenburg, with the successe thereof, as much as we have yet received of credit. The late proceeding of the King of Sweden forces in Wittenburg, &amp; what townes he hath taken; his preparation and mooving, to meet with, and to prevent the designses of the imperialists nere Erford, and elsewhere. The state of the French K. in Lorraine, &amp; how he mooves. The late arrivall and royall entertainment of Monsieur the Kings brother at Bruxsell.</i>	1632	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
55	<i>The German history continued. The seventh part. Wherein is conteyned the principall passages of last summer. With the siege and taking of Regenspurg, as also the siege and battell of Nordlingen.</i>	1634	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
56	<i>The relation of the death of that great generalissimo (of his Imperiall Maiestie) the Duke of Meckleburg, Fridland, Sagan, and great Glogaw, &amp;c. Together with the cause thereof. A copy of the oath taken by his commanders (to be faithfull unto him) but a little before the same. Upon which followed the mandate of his Imperiall Maiestie. For his apprehension, and the successe thereof, all which we have received from speciall hands. And by which you may perceive the great distraction of the imperiall army.</i>	1634	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne

57	<i>A short description of the marching forth of the enemy out of Breda, and what thereupon followed with other remarkable passages.</i>	1637	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
58	<i>Numb[er]. 1. An abstract of some special foreign occurrences, brought down to the weekly news, of the 20 of December. Or, The severall passages and novels which have happened in Germany, France, Spaine, Italy, and other places some few moneths since.</i>	1638	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
59	<i>Diatelesma: The Fifth Part Or Number. Comprehending The Principall Actions Of Germany, France, Spaine, And The Netherlands.</i>	1639	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
60	<i>The Norimberg curranto of this week The confirmation of the defeat of the remains of Marazini's army, and taking him prisoner. The people of Tabor make away apace to Vienna, and to Gratz, and so to the mountains, by reason of the Swedes approach. Generall Bannier is drawing his forces from all parts to Brandeis, 3 leagues from Prague, where Hatzfeld is now joyned with Gallas; whereupon another battell is like to follow.</i>	1639	Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne
61	<i>Century 3. Numb. 20. The News for this week from Norimberg, Frankford and Holland. Wherein (amongst other things) is contained, these remarkable passages following: The great preparation of the King of Poland against the Turke. Some things done by the French in Italie. The Waymarish have pillaged all the Merchants goods of Frankford, which were going to Collen. The retreat of Banniers Army out of Bohemia, towards Misnia, with his fighting of the places he held there, and the feare they apprehend at Lipsick of his approach that way. Something from Brazil, and something from the low Countreys, and from France, and from Denmark.</i>	1640	Nathaniel Butter

62	<p>Cent. 3. Numb. 48. The continuation of the forraine occurents for 5. weekes last past, containing many very remarkable passages of Germanie, France, Spaine, Italy, Sweden, the Low-Countries, and other parts of the world Amongst which are these following particulars.</p> <p>1. The rebellion and falling away of Catalonia confirmed, with their conjunction with the French. 2. The revolt and crowning of a new King of Portugall (the Duke of Briganza) by the name of Iohn the Fourth. 3. The proceedings of Bannier and the Swedish armies in Germany. 4. The taking of Carthagena and the plate fleet in the harbour there by the Hollanders. 5. What hath lately passed at the Dyet at Ratisbone. Examined and licenced by a better and more impartiall hand then heretofore.</p>	1640	Nathaniel Butter
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